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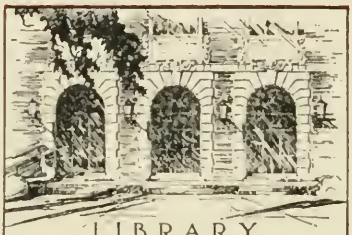

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THE CALCIUM LIGHT

TURNED ON BY A

RAILWAY TRACKMAN

CONTAINING HISTORICAL FACTS OF GREAT VALUE TO ALL CLASSES OF RAILWAY EMPLOYES

BY JOHN T. WILSON

1902
TRACKMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY
St. Louis, Mo.

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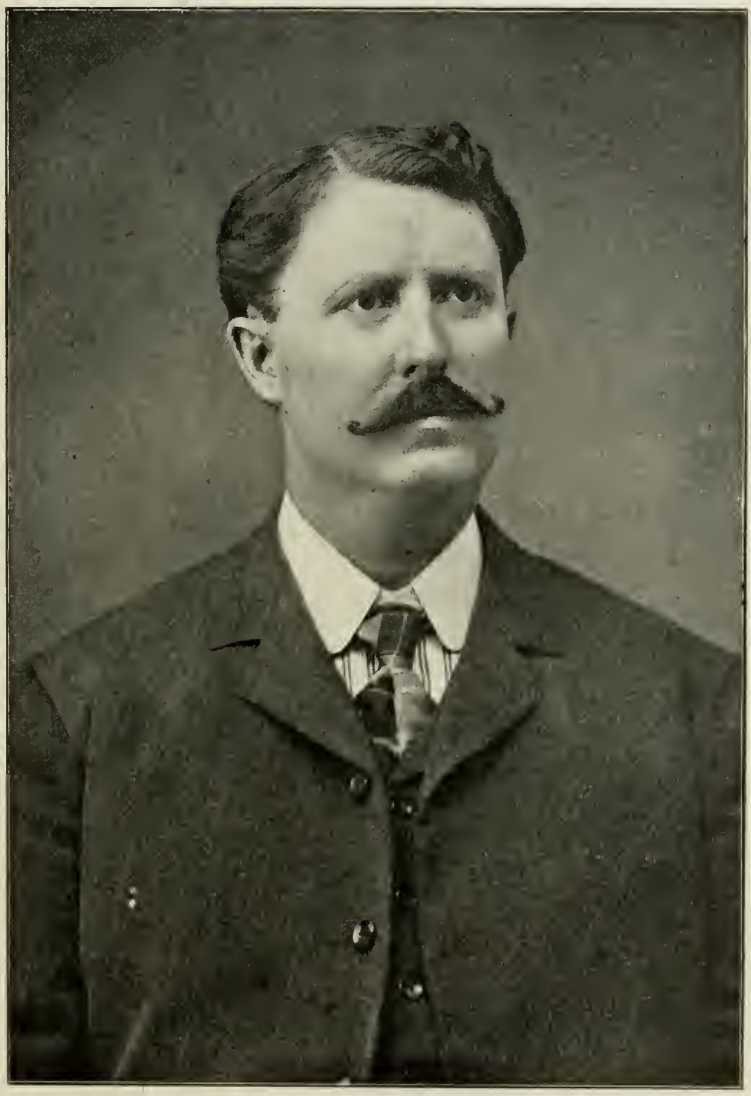
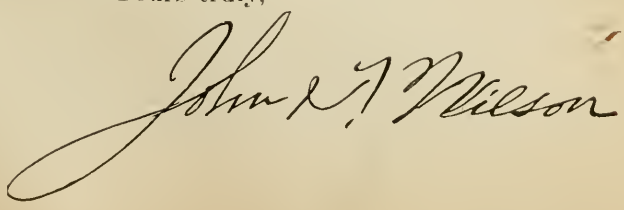


JOHN T. WILSON.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose for which this book is published is to strongly impress upon the minds of all maintenance-of-way employes that if they wish to have their burdens made lighter and their lives made brighter —if they wish to have their many grievances properly adjusted—the remedy lies within themselves. Whining will not help them. Prayers and petitions will be alike in vain. The ONLY source of relief is ORGANIZATION. The ONLY remedy is UNITED, PERSISTENT ACTION. Such action can only be had where the men engaged in it are possessed of three sterling traits of character, to wit: COURAGE, FIDELITY and FORTITUDE—courage to undertake; fidelity to continue, and fortitude to endure without murmuring the trials and deprivations incident to all great movements for the establishment of better conditions, higher ideals and greater liberties for the mass of mankind. It was the possession of these noble qualities which enabled the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway to win the most memorable struggle in which members of their craft were ever engaged—a contest in which the humble and unlettered trackmen were not only opposed by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (perhaps the greatest and richest transportation company in the world), but also, through the General Managers' Association, by every transportation company on the North American continent. The story of that famous struggle is briefly told in the following pages. Plain facts are submitted, embracing all correspondence between the railway officials and the maintenance-of-way men's representatives, and between said representatives and their constituents, as well as other letters and press comments which are of interest in this connection because of the side lights which they shed upon the controversy. The author has not attempted to embellish the story of the C. P. strike with any literary frills or furbelows, and does not ask that this book be treasured as a literary gem; but he does hope that it will be appreciated by that much-abused and long-suffering class of railway employes known as maintenance-of-way men, for whose benefit it is intended, and who may learn from a close perusal of its pages how to fight their own battles for better conditions and HOW TO WIN.

Yours truly,



THE CALCIUM LIGHT

TURNED ON BY A RAILWAY TRACKMAN.

CHAPTER I.

NEGOTIATIONS BEGUN.

In accordance with previous arrangements the men selected to confer with the management of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, for the purpose of trying to secure an agreement pertaining to wages and conditions of employment for maintenance-of-way department employes, met at the Grand Union Hotel in Montreal on the 15th of April. After formulating their grievances and preparing wage schedules, the following letter was sent by messenger to the general manager:

Montreal, April 16, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager C. P. Ry.,

Dear Sir: We, Joseph Lennon, E. E. Nason, F. Frederick, R. C. Montgomery, Theodore Edmundson and A. F. Stout, having been selected by the maintenance-of-way department employes on the C. P. Ry. and authorized to confer with you for the purpose of entering into an agreement pertaining to the terms and conditions of employment, respectfully request that you give us an audience and an opportunity to present our grievances at your earliest convenience.

Yours respectfully, (Signed) JOS. LENNON, Chairman.

Failing to receive a reply by noon the next day, the following letter was addressed to the general manager:

Montreal, April 17, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second-Vice-President and General Manager C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: I sent a letter to your office about 11 o'clock a. m. on the 16th instant. I stated that a committee representing maintenance-of-way department employes on the C. P. Ry. desired to have an interview with the management of the company. If you made a reply it has not been received.

Will you please state whether or not you will give the committee a hearing, and, if you will grant us a hearing, specify what time the committee will be received. Please send your answer to room 91, Grand Union Hotel.

Yours respectfully, (Signed) JOS. LENNON, Chairman.

The following reply was received the same evening:

Montreal, April 17, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Grand Union Hotel, city.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your letter of April 16. I can meet you and the other Canadian Pacific employes mentioned in your letter at my office tomorrow, the 18th instant, at 12 o'clock noon. Yours truly,

(Signed) D. McNICOLL.

At noon the following day the committeemen called upon the general manager, stated the object of their presence, and presented the following document:

AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY AND ITS MAINTENANCE-OF-WAY DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES.

1. In the event of trouble between the company and an employe in the maintenance-of-way department, the said employe shall have a speedy, fair and impartial trial before his first superior officer not a party to the controversy, and shall be permitted to have a practical and experienced employe in the same department on the same division to defend him, and he shall have the right to appeal to the manager of his division for a new hearing if he believes his suspension or discharge to be unjust.

2. Should any maintenance-of-way department employe be suspended or discharged without just cause he shall receive his regular salary while off duty waiting for an investigation.

3. Ten hours shall constitute a day's work for all maintenance-of-way department employes (excepting switch-tenders, watchmen and pump men). Those who are required to work over ten hours a day, or on Sunday, shall receive pay for time and one-half.

4. Promotion of men in the maintenance-of-way department on the various divisions shall be governed by seniority, merit and other qualifications being equal.

5. The company shall transport free of charge, fresh meats twice a week to all points where the same cannot be purchased, and will run a supply car each way once a month between Moosejaw and Calgary on main line, and from Dunmore Junction to Kootenay Landing, and from Mattawamkeag to Megantic; the rate to be charged for delivery of supplies to maintenance-of-way department employes will be one-half of the regular rate.

6. Section housekeepers shall be furnished transportation twice a month to the nearest points where necessary supplies can be purchased.

7. All maintenance-of-way department employes shall be granted passes once a month to and from any point they desire to travel on the roadmaster's division where they are employed, provided that no more than one-half of the force will be absent from duty at any one time.

8. Maintenance-of-way department employes who have been in the service of the company continuously for a period of two years will be entitled to leave of absence, and transportation once a year to any point on the system they may desire to visit.

9. Any trackman who has a certificate showing he was employed one season by the company shall be entitled to free transportation to work the following season, without being required to pay an employment agency fee.

10. When it is necessary to convene a general grievance committee, or a local grievance committee for the purpose of settling differences, the company shall grant leave of absence and furnish passes to the committeemen and such witnesses as they may desire to bring before the management for the purpose of revealing the facts in the case.

11. In cases where section foremen or men are taken away from headquarters to work on snow or tie trains, or to do any work that will take them away from their regular boarding places, the company shall pay all expenses incurred.

12. The company shall keep all section houses in good repair, and not charge any more for rent than is being charged at the present time.

13. In case of an accident resulting from bad track, if upon investigation it is found that the foreman discharged his duties faithfully and that the accident occurred on account of his not being allowed enough men and sufficient material with which to make the track safe, he will be held blameless.

14. When section foremen, or men, are required to attend to lamps before or after regular working hours they shall receive the same rate of pay as is paid to operators and agents for the same class of work. Section foremen will not be held responsible for lamps not being lit, or going out, where they are attended to by persons not subject to their orders.

15. Track walkers on the entire system shall receive a day's pay at the usual rate for walking track on Sunday.

16. Watchmen on duty twelve hours or more out of each twenty-four shall be entitled to leave of absence two weeks each year without loss of pay.

17. At all places where water is to be transported for use by section gangs, suitable underground tanks shall be provided by the company, and good water furnished twice a week with proper quantities of ice.

SCHEDULE OF RATES FOR MAINTENANCE-OF-WAY DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES ON THE ATLANTIC DIVISION.

(a) Yard foremen at terminal and divisional points shall be paid $2.25 per day.
(b) Extra gang foremen shall be paid $3.00 per day.
(c) Section foremen shall be paid $2.00 per day.
(d) Section men shall be paid $1.50 per day.
(e) All foremen of snow ploughs and flangers on the entire system shall be paid $3.00 per day and expenses.
(f) Section men working on snow ploughs and flangers shall be paid $2.00 per day and expenses.

SCHEDULE OF RATES FOR MAINTENANCE-OF-WAY DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES ON THE O. & Q. DIVISION.

(a) Yard foremen at terminal and divisional points shall be paid $2.25 per day.
(b) Extra gang foremen shall be paid $3.00 per day.
(c) Section foremen shall be paid $2.00 per day.
(d) Section men shall be paid $1.50 per day.

SCHEDULE OF RATES FOR MAINTENANCE-OF-WAY DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES ON THE EASTERN DIVISION.

(a) Yard foremen at terminal and divisional points shall be paid $2.50 per day.
(b) Extra gang foremen shall be paid $3.00 per day.
(c) Assistant yard foremen in Montreal yards shall be paid $2.00 per day.
(d) Section foremen from Montreal to Cartier and Sault Ste. Marie shall be paid $2.00 per day.
(e) Section foremen from Cartier to Port Arthur shall be paid $2.25 per day.

(f) Section men from Montreal to Cartier and Sault Ste. Marie shall be paid $1.50 per day.

(g) Section men from Cartier to Port Arthur shall be paid $1.65 per day.

SCHEDULE OF RATES FOR MAINTENANCE-OF-WAY DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES ON THE WESTERN DIVISION.

(a) Yard foremen at terminal or divisional points shall be paid $70.00 per month.

(b) Extra gang foremen shall be paid $80.00 per month.

(c) Section foremen shall be paid $65.00 per month.

(d) Section men shall be paid $1.65 per day.

(e) Pump men at terminal and divisional points shall be paid $60.00 per month.

(f) Pump men looking after more than one pump shall be paid $55.00 per month.

(g) Pump men looking after one pump shall be paid $50.00 per month.

(h) No pump man shall be required to look after more than three pumps.

(i) Boarding housekeepers may charge a maximum of $4.00 per week for board.

SCHEDULE OF RATES FOR MAINTENANCE-OF-WAY DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES ON PACIFIC DIVISION.

(a) Yard foremen in charge of yards having twenty-five or more switches, or at terminal points, shall be paid $75.00 per month.

(b) Extra gang foremen shall be paid $3.50 per day.

(c) Section foremen shall be paid $65.00 per month.

(d) Section men shall be paid $1.75 per day.

(e) Extra gang men shall be paid $1.75 per day.

(f) Bridge foremen shall be paid $4.00 per day.

(g) Bridge men shall be paid $2.75 and $3.00 per day.

(h) Bridge watchmen shall be paid $60.00 per month.

(i) Track watchmen shall be paid $55.00 per month.

(j) Switch tenders in charge of safety switches Nos. 1, 2 and 3 on the "Kicking Horse" grade shall be paid $50.00 per month each for services from 7 to 19 o'clock, and 20 cents for the first call, and 10 cents for each call thereafter during the next twelve hours.

1. The company shall make arrangements to have its cheques cashed without inconvenience or expense to maintenance-of-way department employes.

2. No maintenance-of-way department employe shall be discriminated against, suspended or discharged on account of serving on a grievance committee.

3. There shall be no discrimination against members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen now employed or in employing new men on account of their holding membership in said organization.

4. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company on its part, and the maintenance-of-way department employes on their part, do hereby agree that they will perform their several duties and stipulations provided for in this agreement, until sixty days' notice have been given by either party to the other requesting a change of the same.

It is further agreed that these rules shall not take away any privileges that are now in effect with maintenance-of-way department employes.

This agreement shall take effect on the..... day of .....1901.

(Signed .....General Manager.
For the .....Railway Company.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
} Committee.

For the maintenance-of-way department employes
of the.....Ry. Co.

The manager contended that the committee should have presented their grievances to minor officials before coming to him. The chairman stated that the committeemen were clothed with written authority to represent at least 90 per cent of the maintenance-of-way department employes on the entire system and that minor officials could not, under the established rules of the company, give the relief desired. After discussing matters for some time the committeemen returned to the Grand Union Hotel, and after deliberating upon the position taken by the general manager, prepared and sent the following letter:

Montreal, April 18, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: After deliberating upon the position taken by you at our conference yesterday, our committeemen have decided that the trackmen's grievances should receive due consideration from the management of the C. P. Ry. during the next few days.

You stated that we began at the wrong end and that our grievances should have been presented to the superintendents before coming to you. We have attempted several times to have our grievances adjusted by superintendents; in some instances they refused to give our committeemen a hearing, and those who listened to our complaints informed us that they had no authority to remedy the things complained of.

Your contention that on account of our committee not first interviewing the superintendents, makes it necessary for you to take the matter up with them, and that it will be at least two weeks before you can discuss our proposed agreement, does not seem to be necessary to men of our limited experience.

Were we to send committees to all of the division superintendents, the general superintendents and the managers before taking up our grievances with

you, the cost of same would amount to several hundred dollars, and we cannot understand why you should expect us to waste time and expend money by interviewing officials who have no authority to adjust our grievances. Your general superintendents and some of your roadmasters are in the city. If you desire to confer with them concerning local conditions, cost of labor, etc., through the country traversed by the C. P. Ry., it seems to us that the information desired might be obtained in a short time; were they not in the city, with your complete telegraph system and full staff of agents and operators at your command, we think you could obtain all information needed in a few hours.

You stated that committees representing men engaged in operating trains remained in the city thirty days in order to have their grievances adjusted, and seemed to think that we should not object to waiting two weeks to begin discussion of our grievances.

We cannot think of any excuse or justification for your taking that position. If the C. P. Ry. Company would pay its track department employes three-quarters as much wages, in proportion to their responsibilities and the services rendered, as it pays to other classes of its employes, we do not suppose the trackmen would object to keeping a committee of ten or twelve men in Montreal continuously and subject to your orders. You should remember that on account of the "niggardly" wages paid to trackmen it is a hardship upon them to have to pay the expenses incurred in sending our committee to Montreal.

We desire to be fair and reasonable in our demands upon the company. At the same time, however, we must be faithful to the men we represent.

The proposed agreement and wage schedules drawn up by our committee (copy of which was handed to you yesterday) does not cover all of the grievances filed by C. P. Ry. trackmen. We have been instructed to ask for a great many concessions not included in the document.

In drawing up the schedule and presenting a copy of it to you, we are not making demands, but we desire to discuss the things contained therein, and do not believe we should be compelled to wait two weeks to begin the discussion. If you will convince us that any part of the schedule proposed should be changed or eliminated, the change or changes can be made. If you will arrange to meet the committee and take the matter up at once, the parts that you are authorized and willing to pass upon can be settled, and the parts that we cannot agree upon will be taken to higher authority.

The committeemen are of the opinion that you should favor them with a definite answer to this communication not later than 10 o'clock a. m. on Monday, the 22nd of April.

If you fail to give us an answer by that time our conclusion will be that you do not desire to confer with the trackmen's committee and adjust their grievances in an amicable way.

We would much rather assist in cultivating good feeling and harmony between all classes of C. P. Ry. employes than to be compelled to report to our constituents that we find it impossible to get a proper hearing before the C. P. Ry. officials in what we believe to be a reasonable length of time.

Yours respectfully, (Signed) J. LENNON, Chairman.

The general manager replied as follows:

Montreal, April 20, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Room 91, Grand Union Hotel, city.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your letter of April 19, and can see you at my office at 10 o'clock on Monday morning, the 22d instant.

Yours truly, (Signed) D. McNICOLL.

Another conference took place between the general manager and the committee at 10 o'clock a. m., April 22. Considerable time was consumed in discussing matters in a general way, and the chairman of the committee was handed the following letter:

Montreal, April, 20, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Room 91, Grand Union Hotel, city.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your letter of 19th inst., which I must confess, is a great surprise to me in view of our conversation Thursday last, and the explanation I then gave.

At our meeting you admitted that you had not approached any of our officials with regard to your alleged grievances or requirements for a period of several years, yet without any preliminary notice you now present to me a series of demands, some of which appear to me most unreasonable, among them one for an increase of wages involving over half a million dollars per annum, and practically request instant decision.

I advised you that your memorandum covers a territory of nearly ten thousand miles, and many serious questions that cannot be answered off-hand; that I considered you had begun at the wrong end; that it would have been much better to have submitted your alleged grievances to your immediate superiors and given them an opportunity to fully consider them before discussion of action, and that it would be necessary for me now to communicate with your immediate superiors on the subject in order that I may post myself as to the present conditions and obtain their views.

I further pointed out to you that you were at present being paid a higher rate of wages than was paid on any other railway in Canada or on the railways in the United States immediately to the south of us.

I have promised to take the matter into consideration, and when we are in a position to discuss it you will be advised. Meantime I am willing to supply you with the necessary passes to enable you to return home, thus avoiding, as far as possible, any unnecessary expense to you.

I did not definitely specify two weeks. I said several weeks, as the exorbitant and far-reaching nature of some of your demands requires considerable investigation, most serious consideration and many meetings between our officers to arrive at their full meaning and value.

I am sorry to hear that the memorandum you have submitted does not cover all your grievances, as I specially asked you at our meeting if it included all you had to ask, and was answered in the affirmative, and I now would suggest that such other matters as you wish to bring to my attention be presented in order to avoid still further delay.

Your expressed intention to be fair and reasonable in the discussion of your relations with the company is quite in accord with the company's desire and intention that in its dealings no one must be permitted to suffer injustice.

Yours truly. (Signed) D. McNICOLL.

After considering what was said at the conference and the contents of the above letter, the following communication was sent to Mr. McNicoll:

Montreal, April 22, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: After duly considering the position taken by yourself at our conference this a. m. and the contents of your letter, all of our committeemen are of the opinion that you intend to deal fairly with the men we represent, therefore, we have decided to request you to give us assurance that you will act in good faith towards the maintenance-of-way department employes on the C. P. Ry.

We will request,

1. A guarantee that the men we represent will not be discharged or discriminated against by your subordinate officials on account of their holding membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen.

2. That you will grant leave of absence and furnish passes to the committeemen to Montreal and return, for the purpose of considering all matters set forth in the memorandum we have submitted, within a specified time, giving yourself a reasonable length of time to procure all information or data required touching upon the questions at issue.

I do not think it would be advisable for us to return to our homes without giving the men to understand that their grievances will be taken up with the management of the C. P. Ry. Company within a specified time. Were we to report to our constituents that you have agreed to confer with us and consider their grievances at some future time (the time not specified) it will cause a good deal of dissatisfaction, and might result in their appointing another committee to represent them.

We have exclusive authority to represent at least 90 per cent of the maintenance-of-way department employes on your road. The two last clauses on the certificates of authority which have been signed by the men, read as follows:

"It is expressly understood that in case the majority of maintenance-of-way employes of the C. P. Ry. authorize said committee to enter into an agreement with the C. P. Ry. officials for them (to sell their labor for them), and if the officials of said company decline to receive our committee and to enter into an agreement with it similar to the agreements entered into with other classes of their employes, the committee, with the sanction of the Grand President of the B. R. T. of A., will have authority to order a suspension of work, and their orders will be obeyed.

"The undersigned hereby bind themselves to carry out in good faith their part of any agreement entered into by the above named committee with the officials of the Canadian Pacific Railway."

Were we to return to our homes without obtaining the guarantees asked for above, I am satisfied that we would be severely criticised, and more than likely a great many of the best men now employed in the maintenance-of-way department would seek other employment, as other employers of labor along the lines of the C. P. Ry. are paying from $20 to $35 per month for common labor, including board and lodging.

Please do not imagine that we doubt your sincerity, but understand that as representatives of other men, we must protect ourselves against unnecessary

criticism. We realize that dealing with maintenance-of-way department employes as an organized body is a new thing with managers of railways, but the better informed class of men in our department are determined to protect themselves against unfair treatment (often by minor officials) through the adoption of wage schedules, or to seek other employment—one of the two.

When I handed in the memorandum of the men's grievances on the 18th inst., you asked me if it contained all the committee was going to ask for. I said, "Yes, it contained all we were going to ask for at the present time." There is considerable complaint among the men about the company not furnishing enough men and material to keep the track in safe running order. Our committee decided that the company being responsible for accidents, it should determine how many men will be employed as well as the kind and quantity of material it will furnish. Other grievances not set forth in our memorandum are of a minor nature, and in our judgment, can be adjusted by the minor officials. We do not desire to annoy you with petty grievances that can be adjusted by the superintendents and roadmasters.

I assure you we have no desire to embarrass any of the officials of the C. P. Ry. Company, and if they deal with us in the same manner as other classes of your employes are dealt with, we will do all in our power to promote the interest of the company and to render satisfactory service.

Yours very truly, (Signed) J. LENNON, Chairman.

In answer to the above communication the following letter was received from Mr. Hodge, secretary to the general manager:

Montreal, April 23, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Room 91, Grand Union Hotel, city.

Dear Sir: Your communication of yesterday's date, addressed to the general manager, was delivered to him just as he was leaving the city, from which he will be absent several days.

I am this morning in receipt of a telegram from Mr. McNicoll instructing me to assure you that neither members of your committee, the men you represent nor any other employe of the company will be discriminated against as long as they give good service; that instructions will at once be given to superintendents to remedy anything mentioned in your memorandum about which there can be little difference of opinion; the necessary information to enable the management to intelligently consider other matters will be secured at once, and we may expect to be in a position to meet you before the end of May. The members of the committee will be given transportation home, and when coming to headquarters again to discuss the subject, a committee of reasonable numbers will be given the necessary leave of absence and transportation to and from Montreal.

If you will let me have a memorandum of the transportation that will now be required by the members of your committee I shall let you have it.

Yours truly, (Signed) GEORGE HODGE.

The above letter being unsatisfactory to the members of the committee, as they had begun negotiations with Mr. McNicoll, the chairman in company with another member of the committee called on Mr. Hodge, who handed them the following letter from Mr. McNicoll:

Montreal, April 22, 1901.

Memorandum for George Hodge.

I have tonight wired you as follows: "Write Mr. Lennon in the morning I just received his communication of the 22nd, on my departure from the city from which I will be absent several days. Assure him that neither members of the committee, the men they represent nor any other employe of the company will be discriminated against so long as they give good service; that instructions will at once be given to superintendents to remedy anything mentioned in their memorandum about which there can be little difference of opinion; the necessary information to enable the management to intelligently consider other matters will be secured at once, and we expect to be in a position to meet them before the end of May. The committee will be given transportation home, and when coming to headquarters again to discuss the subject, a committee of reasonable numbers will be given transportation to and from Montreal and leave of absence." (Signed) McNICOLL.

The time in which the committee would be called back to Montreal not being specified, caused the committeemen to draft and send the following letter to the office of the general manager:

Montreal, April 23, 1901.

D. McNicoll, Esq., Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: I have received a letter from Mr. Hodge in answer to our communication sent you yesterday.

I especially requested you to specify the time in which you would confer with our committee and discuss the matters set forth in our memorandum handed you on the 18th inst., and stated my reasons for making the request.

Mr. Hodge states that he has instructions from you to inform us that you expect to be in a position to meet us before the end of May.

There is not anything definite in your answer so far as the time you will meet the committee is concerned, therefore it is unsatisfactory. I am one member of a committee of six and do not have a vote while in executive session. If you will state that arrangements will be made to meet our committee not later than the end of May, and will guarantee the other pledges contained in Mr. Hodge's letter, I think the members of our committee will be satisfied to return to their homes; otherwise, the responsibility for what may take place will rest with you.

Our committee will expect a definite answer not later than 12 o'clock tomorrow, April 24. Failing to hear from you will be accepted for a negative answer.

Yours truly, (Signed) J. LENNON, Chairman.

In a few hours the following letter was received by the chairman of the committee:

Montreal, April 23, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Room 91, Grand Union Hotel, city.

Dear Sir: I am just in receipt of the following telegram from the general manager in reply to my message of this afternoon giving him the substance of your letter of to-day's date:

My telegram of last night was intended to convey to the men an assurance that I would meet them before the end of May, and you may convey to them a copy of this telegram. (Signed) D. McNicoll.

Yours truly, (Signed) GEORGE HODGE.

In answer to the above the chairman of the committee sent the following letter to Mr. Hodge:

Montreal, April 24, 1901.

George Hodge, Esq., Secretary to General Manager C. P. Ry., city.

Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 23rd inst., containing a copy of Mr. McNicoll's telegram assuring our committee that he will meet us before the end of May.

Mr. McNicoll stated during our conference on the 18th inst., that the money paid for tickets to Montreal by the committeemen would be refunded.

A. F. Stout	purchased	a	ticket	from	Ardendale.....$ 9 50
R. C. Montgomery	"	"	"		Webbwood..... 13 95
E. E. Nason	"	"	"		McAdam Junction..... 13 95
F. Frederick	"	"	"		Woman River..... 13 70
Theodore Edmundson	"	"	"		Vermillion Bay..... 36 95
				Total	.....$88 05

Can you arrange to have their money refunded?

I will request passes for E. E. Nason from Montreal to McAdam Jct., F. Frederick from Montreal to Woman River and Theodore Edmundson from Montreal to Vermillion Bay.

Mr. Stout purchased a return ticket and can return to Ardendale Station on the return part of it. Mr. Montgomery has received a pass from Montreal to Webbwood. Yours truly, (Signed) J. LENNON, Chairman.

The foregoing demonstrates that trackmen will be recognized and their committees dealt with by railway officials in the same manner they deal with committees representing other classes of their employes, provided the majority of the maintenance-of-way men employed by a company unite and give their committee written authority to make an agreement for them pertaining to wages and conditions of employment.

The first question asked by the general manager of the C. P. Ry. was: "How am I to know you represent the maintenance-of-way department employes on our road?" The answer was: "Here is our authority above the men's signatures."

Q. "What per cent of the men have signed that certificate authorizing you to represent them?" A. "Not less than 90 per cent. Count them and see for yourself."

When conferences are resumed between the general manager and the committee he will, no doubt, take the position that the C. P. Ry. is paying its maintenance-of-way employes more than any other road in the country, which is true. While the C. P. Ry. company is paying its track department employes more than other roads, and has done more to develop the natural resources of Canada and the manhood of its citizens than any other corporation in the Dominion, it did not do it by paying less wages to its employes than other employers of

labor and the wages paid to its track department employes at the present time does not enable them to maintain themselves and families in a manner becoming to citizens of a great empire.

Were it conceded that one employer of labor should not increase the wages of his workmen because he is paying more wages than another, the Central Railway of Georgia would be sustained in taking the position that it should not pay its trackmen more than 65 cents a day, because the C. F. & Y. V. Ry. only pays its trackmen 47½ cents a day.

Low wages is the curse of any nation. Wage schedules that degrade citizens, degrade nations. Russia, Turkey, Italy, Spain, Japan and China are all countries that maintain low wages for their workmen. How do they compare with countries like Great Britain and the United States? During the last half century the United States has paid more wages to the classes of its workmen that possessed enough courage and brains to band themselves together for mutual advancement than any country in the world, during which time the country has experienced greater development and created more wealth than any other country of its size, and has produced more millionaires than all other countries combined. As workmen's producing capacities are largely determined by their opportunities to consume wealth, the C. P. Ry. company can increase its business by assisting its toilers in their efforts to secure a higher rate of wages for all wealth producers through the country traversed by its lines.

The trackmen on the C. P. Ry., by banding themselves together and making earnest, prudent efforts to bring about better conditions for themselves, have shown conclusively that they realize their rights as citizens and the value of their services to the company which gives them employment. They are no longer to be classed with the benighted laborers who endure industrial slavery, its hardships and privations, because they have not the manhood to protest against such treatment.

When the chairman of the committee told the general manager that he was not representing Grand Trunk or Northern Pacific trackmen, and that the men he represented did not care to be compared with those who either did not know their rights or did not have the courage to ask for them, he reflected great credit upon himself, his colleagues and the C. P. Ry.

The trackmen on the C. P. Ry. have not failed to take into account, in the general summing up of their grievances, the increased volume of business transacted by the company, the general rise in values of agricultural and commercial products and the consequent

higher cost of living, and they have rightly concluded that they are entitled to share the general prosperity instead of submitting to a reduction of wages, which is practically the effect of higher cost of living without correspondingly higher pay.

CHAPTER II.

PREPARING FOR TROUBLE.

The representatives of the maintenance-of-way men left Montreal on April 26, after receiving written guarantees from the general manager that neither the members of their committee nor the men they represented would be discriminated against on account of holding membership in the B. R. T. of A.; that they would be brought back to Montreal before the end of May for the purpose of considering the matters complained of, and that no one employed by the company would be permitted to suffer injustice.

A few days after my return to St. Louis letters were received from men working at various places on the system, telling me that a mistake had been made in not forcing the company to make a settlement for the maintenance-of-way men, or ordering a suspension of work while the ground was thawing and shims were being removed, as it would have been impossible for the company to run trains many days without the assistance of experienced trackmen. The writers believed the company were preparing for trouble. They had employed twice as many men to work on track as were employed during the same season in any previous year. Foremen were instructed to rush their forces and put all the ties in the track before the end of May. Such unusual activity aroused the suspicions of the men who were endeavoring to have their grievances adjusted.

Being anxious to bring about a proper understanding and to effect a peaceable settlement between the C. P. Ry. company and its maintenance-of-way men, I attempted to avert the trouble that was brewing, as the following letter sent to the general manager indicates:

St. Louis, Mo., May 13, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: As the maintenance-of-way department employes on your road have formed themselves into a system organization, which is now a branch of our association, and have requested recognition through their committee from the management of your company, I consider it my duty to inform you of our policy, and of the character of the organization your maintenance-of-way employes are affiliated with. Our association is an educational, fraternal and beneficial institution. Our desire is to promote the interests of employer and employe, and to establish and perpetuate harmony between them.

The attached printed slip under the head of "Suspensions of Local Divisions" is an extract from my report submitted to our delegates when assembled

in convention last December. I was sustained in revoking the charter of a division whose members participated in an unauthorized strike, without a dissenting vote. My object in calling your attention to this case is to show that our laws are enforced and that you can rely upon our organization to act in good faith toward any railway company entering into an agreement with the members of any of our branches.

You will find enclosed a copy of a circular letter sent out from Montreal, by a committee of your employes, to all members of our organization on your road; also a printed copy of the proceedings, with a comment written by myself, which is self-explanatory.

I will call your attention to a typewritten copy of Special Circular No. 40, issued to members of our organization a few weeks in advance of the disastrous strike which took place on several of the leading railways in the States, in June, 1894. The matters referred to indicate my policy. My re-election without opposition at each convention since our organization was established is positive proof that our membership generally is in perfect accord with my policy. I am of the opinion that railway officials can do much towards promoting the interests of their companies and their employes, and to insure safe, unmolested and satisfactory service to the public, by encouraging class organizations among their employes, and especially so when their affairs are administered along practical lines by conservative men in a reasonable and consistent way.

I hope you will consider carefully the requests made by your employes, and that you will see your way clear to concede the things asked for. If you can and will establish minimum rates of $1.50 per day for section men, and $2.00 per day for foremen in the localities where the cost of living is the cheapest, and allow a proportional increase in localities where the cost of living is higher, you will, no doubt, have the best contented and most faithful set of men of any road on the North American Continent, and I am of opinion that the company will be reimbursed on account of improved service. If you want the best there is in a man in the way of loyal service, treat him as a man should be treated, allow him a fair day's pay for an honest day's work, and convince him that the better service he renders the greater his reward will be and the more he will be appreciated. Yours very truly,

JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

[Extract from report regarding "Suspensions of Local Divisions."]

Several local divisions have been suspended and their charters revoked on account of their members declining to make lawful payments. Only one charter has been revoked on account of misconduct on the part of members of the division. Members of Baltimore Division No. 124, located at Baltimore, Md., engaged in an unauthorized strike under such conditions that I considered it my duty, and for the best interest of the Brotherhood, to revoke their charter. The members of the said Baltimore division were employed by the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, and did not constitute five per cent of our membership on that system. According to a statement made by Mr. Willard, assistant general manager, the B. & O. Ry. company made concessions on the first of April of this year to their trackmen, which will cost the company more than $80,000.00 per annum. All matters pertaining to the affairs of the Brotherhood on that system were moving along smoothly, the only matter in dispute being that the officials had declined to confer with our general grievance committee on that

system, and to enter into an agreement with it which would govern the wages, terms and conditions of employment of their trackmen.

The reason assigned by the assistant general manager for not conferring with our committee was that a careful research had been made which showed that less than one-third of the B. & O. trackmen were members of the B. R. T. of A., and he did not think the company could afford to recognize a committee as the chosen representatives of their trackmen when the committee was not authorized to do business for one-third of the men working for the company in the track department.

On the 30th of August I received the following message from the secretary of Baltimore Division No. 124, who was also acting as chairman of the general grievance committee:

Baltimore, Md., August 30, 1900.

John T. Wilson, St. Louis, Mo.

Men of Baltimore Division No. 124 all out. A letter explaining will be forwarded. Answer at once. WILLIAM WIEBKING.

I replied as follows:

St. Louis, Mo., August 31, 1900.

William Wiebking, Baltimore, Md.

The members of Division No. 124, engaged in an unauthorized strike, have forfeited their membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America. Their charter is hereby revoked. Inform all concerned that members participating in an unauthorized strike will receive no support from our organization, and prevent strike from spreading if possible. JOHN T. WILSON.

[Special Circular No. 40.]

St. Louis, Mo., May 17, 1894.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: It is impossible for me to visit all the subordinate divisions of the order at this time and personally advise with the membership upon the attitude that we, as an organization of railway employes, should assume at the present important conjuncture. I therefore ask division chief foremen to read this circular at the next regular or special meeting of subordinate divisions.

The whole country is still in the throes of a great business depression. Trade is paralyzed, and the wheels of progress have to a serious extent ceased to revolve. About one-third of the railways of the country are bankrupted and in the hands of receivers. Thousands of men are out of employment, while general dissatisfaction and unrest prevails among workingmen everywhere. It is not surprising, therefore, that workingmen, including railway employes, should grasp at any agency that promises immediate relief, regardless of the future. New-fangled ideas of organization are being sprung upon railway employes and advocated in sensational speeches as cures for all the ills from which we suffer. The natural result is that a wider breach than ever is being formed between organized capital and organized labor, between employer and employe.

Believing that it is impossible for any permanent and lasting benefit to accrue to us through such agencies, and in order to place ourselves in the best possible position to derive benefits from our organization upon the return of prosperity to the railway interests of the country, I would urge the members of the Brotherhood to stand by their employers during the present period of depression. I believe this to be the best and wisest course to pursue, and that it will pay best in the long run.

An organization that, like a mushroom, springs up in a night cannot be depended upon for practical and beneficial results. Every one knows that history is constantly repeating itself, and in this connection I would invite attention to the career of the Knights of Labor, before and since the great strike on the Gould southwestern system in 1886. Prior to the strike the Knights of Labor enjoyed a tremendous and unprecedented growth among railway employes. Many seemed to think that the K. of L. had created a new world and transplanted workingmen thereto, and that laboring men had been redeemed from earthly toil. The motto of the order, that "an injury to one is the concern of all," is a high and noble idea, but the result of that great strike only proved that the concern of one may very readily be made to work injury to all. Thousands of men were involved in the strike, many of them could not tell why. With the strike came loss of life, destruction of property and sorrowful defeat to the order of the Knights of Labor, a blow from which it has even yet not recovered. Before, during and since that notable strike, class organizations have been maintained by railroad employes, and through their wise, conservative and moderate methods they have secured unnumbered concessions from railway managements in the way of wages and rules and regulations. These organizations have maintained friendly relations with the railway companies, have won the esteem and respect of the public, and have been recognized and commended by the courts as legal and useful institutions.

Our own organization has filled every requirement where the members have worked intelligently for any object. We have had wages increased; we have had wages restored; we have prevented reductions of wages; we are promptly paying all just death and total disability claims; our committees are being received by the officials and grievances are being adjusted. Every prudent effort yet made by our members to advance their interests has resulted in some degree of permanent success. Increased efforts along the same lines that we are now traveling will bring about increased success. We have every reason to be encouraged to work for the advancement of the Order. Many who have in the past opposed us have come to regard the Order in a more favorable light. Wherever we are established the better class of trackmen join the Order and remain with it. What we most need to learn is to intelligently present our grievances. We should know just what we want, why we are entitled to it, and be able to explain the justice of our position to others. Not until we can do this can we hope to have all our grievances adjusted.

Members desiring my assistance in presenting grievances will please observe and comply with the provisions of our constitution before calling upon me. It is to be hoped, for it is certainly our best policy, that our members will not rush into court, nor engage in any strike unless a conference with the management has been refused, or has resulted unsatisfactorily. Such a course would, in the end, only result in our own and our Order's injury.

One of the greatest obstacles that we have to overcome is the inability of our members to secure passes to and from monthly meetings. This difficulty can be surmounted by convincing railway officials that our intention is to advance the interests of the companies as well as our own; that our mission is to build up and not to tear down. I have recently conversed with several roadmasters who complained that, while they were perfectly willing to give their men passes to attend division meetings with the expectation that the men would be benefited thereby, some used the occasion only to drink and frolic

and spend money foolishly that their families needed. It would be better for the Order if those who are guilty of such conduct would surrender their certificates of membership and cease to cast discredit upon an organization whose existence and usefulness depends upon the sobriety and integrity of its individual members. Yours in B. L. & U.

JOHN T. WILSON.

The general manager did not consider the above letter, explaining the objects, methods, and character of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America, worthy of a reply.

The committeemen returned to Montreal on May 29 and proceeded to the manager's office on the morning of May 30, where they were introduced by the manager to one of the general superintendents, who entertained them in various ways for several days, but declined to do any business with them.

During the time the maintenance-of-way men's representatives and the C. P. Ry. officials were holding conferences in April, a man named R. C. Montgomery, residing at Webwood, Ont., called at the committee's headquarters and expressed a desire to serve on the committee. The maintenance-of-way men on the division on which Mr. Montgomery was working had sent a representative, Mr. F. Frederick, who was unable to explain the reason of Mr. Montgomery's presence. The organizer, who went over the division and obtained an expression from the men as to who should represent them, upon being asked if he knew anything about Mr. Montgomery, stated he found him to be indifferent about matters pertaining to the B. R. T. of A.; that he declined to pay his dues, and that no one on the division had expressed a desire to be represented by him. Mr. Montgomery, however, so impressed the chairman of the committee, that he expressed a desire to have him return in May, when negotiations were to be resumed. Upon further inquiry it was learned that Mr. Montgomery had been working under an official who, about five years prior to the time of writing, was sent to Montreal to try and have grievances adjusted for the trackmen; but instead of carrying out their instructions sent a circular letter to the trackmen stating that the officials would allow them to have the grass growing on the right-of-way cut for their milk cows, and he believed the officials were doing all they could for them. A short time thereafter he was promoted. The action of this official, coupled with the actions of Mr. Montgomery, and his general demeanor, caused some of the trackmen's representatives to suspect that he was seeking an opportunity to further his own ends at the expense of his fellow workmen.

On the evening of May 31 I requested the secretary of the committee to visit the St. James Hotel, where some of the C. P. Ry. officials

were stopping, and find out if Mr. Montgomery was there, as he could not be found at the Grand Union Hotel. On his return he reported that Mr. Montgomery was at the St. James Hotel, consulting with C. P. Ry. officials. This caused the committee to convene and pass the following resolution the next morning, June 1:

Moved by J. W. Johnson, seconded by G. McTaggart, that,

WHEREAS, The members of the grievance committee representing the maintenance-of-way department employes are not here to discuss matters that concern themselves, or to seek promotion for themselves individually, but have been sent here to represent, and, if possible, to promote the interests of all maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Railway; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That if any member of the committee makes any reference to promotion for himself while in conference with C. P. Railway officials; speaks to any of them at any time or place concerning our mission in Montreal, except when called upon to do so by the chairman, in the presence of other members, he shall be suspended from the committee, and not permitted to take part in its deliberations, or to be present or take part in conferences between this committee and the Canadian Pacific Railway officials.

(Signed) J. LENNON, Chairman.
" THEO. EDMUNDSON,
" E. E. NASON,
" J. W. JOHNSON,
" R. C. MONTGOMERY,
" JNO. B. BRUNSKILL,
" GEO. A. McTAGGART,
" F. FREDERICK,
" A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

On the morning of June 6, as the conferences with the general superintendent (the manager occasionally being present) had not resulted in anything satisfactory to the committee, and believing there was little hope of accomplishing anything, they desired to test the manager's sincerity and find out if he really desired to make a peaceable settlement. The following letter was prepared and sent to him:

Montreal, June 6th, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: A committee representing your maintenance-of-way employes was convened in this city on the 13th of April. Several days were consumed in perusing correspondence from maintenance-of-way men on all parts of the system, setting forth their grievances. We then prepared a memorandum pertaining to wages, terms, and conditions of employment, a copy of which was submitted to you on the 18th of April. In presenting the schedule we submitted to you in writing and figures, what your maintenance-of-way men believe they are entitled to. As you have had more than six weeks to consider the matter and conferences have been held daily since May 30th without making very much progress, we will request you to prepare a document setting forth the terms and conditions of employment for maintenance-of-way department employes and stating the concessions you think the company can make under

the circumstances, so we can compare your proposition with the proposition submitted by us on behalf of the men and determine what the differences really are.

We desire to be fair with the company. The position taken by us has been reduced to writing and submitted; therefore, we think you should be as frank with the committee as we have been with you. Yours very truly,

J. LENNON, Chairman of Committee.

No reply having been received to the above letter from the manager, the following letter was sent to his office the next day by special messenger:

Montreal, June 7, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: Will you comply with the request contained in the letter handed you yesterday? If so, what time may we expect your answer?

Failing to receive a reply by noon tomorrow, June 8th, will be considered a negative answer by us. Yours truly,

J. LENNON, Chairman of Committee.

To this the manager replied as follows:

Montreal, June 7th, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Grand Union Hotel, City.

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 6th instant, which greatly surprises me.

On 16th April last you requested a conference, later you submitted a proposition to me, and in your letter of 19th April stated you desired to discuss with me the contents thereof.

I have caused the different points in your memorandum to be most fully investigated. Representatives of this company have looked fully into what you call your grievances; others have studied the conditions on neighboring railways; careful comparison has been made between the rate of pay on the Canadian Pacific Railway and that of other railways with whom we have to compete for trade, and as a result it is our strong conviction that the conditions attending the services of trackmen on the Canadian Pacific Railway are as good as they are on other railways, in many instances better, and that the rate of pay in nearly all cases is higher than that of our neighbors, especially that of the section foremen, and this, I observe in your circular letter to trackmen, you fully acknowledge.

I have brought some of our officials, best acquainted with your work and surroundings, long distances to Montreal to fully discuss with you any questions requiring consideration, and they have spent several days with you, I being occasionally present.

We have already made a substantial addition to the rate of pay of section men, and as advised you, in order to remove the possibility of complaint that our employes in the track department are not paid the highest rate paid by our neighbors in corresponding territory under like conditions, we have decided to make some more changes and increases, but your committee's decision to confine your discussion with our officers, to the general features of your original proposition, without being willing to consider individual items has brought matters to a standstill.

Day by day you have simply listened and adjourned and then returned without any definite expressions that would make it possible to arrive at results, and now by your letter of 6th instant you request that we submit you a proposition in writing that you might compare it with your own. In the present circumstances, and without further information from you, it would be impossible to formulate any proposition, but we are willing to meet your committee to discuss their suggestions or alleged grievances, and do what we properly can to meet your views. Yours truly,

D. McNICOLL, Second Vice-President and Gen. Mgr.

The committee again wrote the general manager as follows:

Montreal, June 8th, 1901.

D. McNicoll, Esq., Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 7th instant has been received and carefully considered by our committee. All of us are disappointed, as you failed to comply with our request, which was for you to furnish us with an outline of what the company considers reasonable wages and fair conditions of employment for maintenance-of-way men.

We came here with written instructions and authority to represent your maintenance-of-way employes, including all track forces, bridgemen, track watchmen, and switch tenders, under the jurisdiction of roadmasters and section foremen.

In our discussions you have not recognized our right to discuss the grievances of any class or classes of employes except track foremen and trackmen, and have expressed your intentions not to make any concessions, except in individual cases. Without you will concede our right to represent all of the maintenance-of-way men we have been authorized to speak for, further discussion is unnecessary.

During our conferences most of the time has been consumed in discussing the wages of trackmen on the Grand Trunk and other railways. We did not come here to consider the wrongs that are being imposed upon trackmen by the Grand Trunk and other railway companies; our business here is to contend for a just share of the wealth the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway are helping to create. We could take the position that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is paying other classes of its employes more than is paid for similar service on the Grand Trunk and other roads, but that is foreign to the question at issue. Our instructions are to secure an agreement setting forth the terms and conditions of employment and wages for maintenance-of-way men, and we would like to resume conferences with the understanding that we are representing your maintenance-of-way men, and that if an agreement can be reached it will be signed by the proper official of the company.

If, after this explanation, you desire to receive the committee, please inform us at your earliest convenience when we will be received.

Yours truly, J. LENNON, Chairman of Committee.

P. S.—Our committee is under heavy expense. Please prepare and send your answer by messenger as soon as possible. J. L.

The manager's reply:

Montreal, 10th June, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Grand Union Hotel, City.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 8th instant reached my office Saturday afternoon, but I scarcely see the necessity for it in view of the offer I have already made to meet you and discuss your rating and alleged grievances.

Your letter of the 6th instant did not ask for an outline of what the company considered reasonable wages and fair conditions, but asked that we submit you a proposition containing concessions that we thought we could make, so that you might make comparisons.

I find the wages that you have been getting prior to the first of May were generally higher than those paid by other railways in Canada, or in the United States, in corresponding territory, with whom we have to compete for business.

On the first of May last we made a very substantial increase in the pay of certain of the section men, it being given to those longest in our service.

We have made a still further advance, effective first of June, affecting principally the section foremen and leading men at large divisional yards and the section men who have been and remain in our service for a period of one year.

On a large portion of our Pacific Division and Crow's Nest Branch, as the conditions are different from those in the East, we have made a very substantial advance to section men.

The section foremen, generally, I find are paid very much higher by us than on other competing railways, and we have not, therefore, thought it advisable to make a general increase in their pay.

We have also issued a liberal set of rules, a copy of which I enclose, under which all section foremen and section men will be dealt with in future, and which we will probably enlarge as necessity arises and opportunity offers.

The company is anxious, as I have repeatedly said, to have the treatment accorded to its employes in every department equal to the best given by any company, both as to remuneration and working conditions.

Although on investigation it was found that the company's officers could not meet your demands without disregarding the labor market and establishing on the Canadian Pacific system a basis of pay very much in excess of that prevailing on other systems similarly situated, it was decided to go to the extreme limit that could be justified, and, as I have stated above, increases have been granted for length of service and other reasons which represent an annual addition to your payrolls of one hundred thousand dollars.

If you still desire to meet me, let me know the date and hour, please, on which you desire the meeting. Yours truly,

D. McNICOLL, Second Vice-President and General Manager.

The committee replied as follows:

Montreal, June 10, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: Your favor of even date has been received, and as you have failed to state what you consider fair wages and fair conditions of employment for your maintenance-of-way men, we do not think it necessary to discuss the matters we have under consideration any further with you; therefore, we have decided to make an effort to secure what we consider a fair settlement, and one that will be satisfactory to the men we represent, through Mr. Shaughnessy, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Yours truly, J. LENNON, Chairman Committee.

On June 7, before the seances given by the general superintendent had ceased, division superintendents and roadmasters started over their divisions distributing the following "Rules Governing the Service of Section Foremen and Sectionmen." The foremen were told by their superintendents and roadmasters that their committee had left Montreal:

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.
RULES GOVERNING THE SERVICE OF SECTION FOREMEN AND SECTIONMEN.

1. Ten hours will constitute a day's work for section foremen and sectionmen. When required to work over ten hours, or on Sundays, overtime will be allowed pro rata.

2. Regular trackmen taken from their place of residence temporarily to work on snow or tie trains, or other work, will be compensated for the additional expense they necessarily incur.

3. Sectionmen when employed as track walkers will be paid at their regular rate for the time occupied, with a minimum of one-half day.

4. Trackmen required to attend switch lamps before or after their regular hours will receive therefor fifty (50) cents per lamp per month.

5. Trackmen will be promoted to the position of foreman on their respective superintendent's or roadmaster's division in order of seniority, provided they are found qualified.

6. In sparsely settled districts the company will, for trackmen, during the summer season, transport free of charge, fresh meats twice a week from the nearest point of supply, and eatables and clothing at half regular rates.

7. A member of the household of a section foreman, will be furnished with free transportation twice a month to and from the nearest point for the purpose of purchasing the necessary supplies.

8. Trackmen who have been in the service of the company continuously for a period of one year as such, will be granted leave of absence and transportation once a year to any point on their respective general superintendent's division.

9. Trackmen suspended pending investigation will be allowed time while suspended when investigation proves them blameless.

10. Trackmen leaving the service through reduction of staff when reengaged within one year, will be granted free transportation to place of work.

11. The company will keep section houses in repair. Cost of repairs other than ordinary wear and tear will be charged to occupants.

12. Where water is transported for use of section gangs, good water and suitable sunken tanks will be provided.

7th June, 1901.

The above "rules" did not contain the signature of any C. P. Ry. official, and was not submitted to the committee.

To better give the reader an idea of the course of procedure adopted by the company to disorganize the men, the following letters, taken at random from many received at headquarters, are reproduced:

June 8, 1901.

For your information I will state the C. P. R. company's officials are again resorting to their old game of trying to undermine our committee. Yesterday the superintendent and roadmaster went over this division on a special engine and interviewed every man, but did not change many minds. I was the first to be interviewed. The engine pulled up and stopped; the roadmaster stepped off. As soon as I saw him I knew there was something wrong. He said: "I suppose you know that I have been in Montreal for the last three weeks trying to settle with your committee, but could not do anything with them; they are a lot of fools. I have with me a copy of the schedule the company has decided to give you. Your wages will be increased ten cents a day; the wages of your oldest man will be increased ten cents a day, but the remainder of your men will receive the old rate of wages."

"Yes," I said, "and then you will discharge our committee?"

"Oh, no," he said.

"Well, look here," I replied, "do you know what I think? I think Mr. McNicoll never intended to recognize our committee. In April he asked them to go home and come back to Montreal the latter part of May, and he would adjust our grievances. He immediately gave orders for three or four extra men to be put to work on each section to help put in ties, a thing that was never done before; then he invited the committee to return to Montreal and kept them there until a day or two ago without adopting a clause of the proposed schedule. No, do not misunderstand me: I am going to stand by the committee."

He then said: "The C. P. Ry. is rich; you are poor, and my advice to you is to remain at work; or if you go out in order to comply with your obligation to your committee, you can return to work the next day. In this way you will fulfill your obligation to your committee, and to your Order."

I answered by saying: "If I am ordered out by our committee I will go out to stay. I am poor but honest, and am not afraid to work. If I cannot work for the company under fair conditions, I will find other employment."

* * *

June 8, 1901.

I write to inform you that the officials on this division are trying to make fools of us trackmen. The roadmaster went over the division today with a special train, telling us our committee had left Montreal without making a settlement, and that while there they were drunk and did not attend to business. At first I believed the story, but after thinking the matter over I concluded it was a scheme to discourage and disorganize the men, and cause them to lose confidence in their representatives. The roadmaster tried to find out who would stick to their work, and who would not, in case a strike is ordered, but the men here would not give him any satisfaction. I write this to put you on your guard. It will be advisable for you to notify all the men along the line, as many of them may be persuaded to believe the story. I am afraid we will have to strike and fight for our rights before the company will recognize us and settle our grievances.

June 10 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

Your committee has not been able to make a settlement with the general manager. We contend for fair wages, fair conditions of employment, and an

agreement signed by the proper official, which will protect all maintenance-of-way men against injustice and petty discrimination. He declines to make any concessions except in individual cases, and told us plainly, in the presence of five roadmasters, that it is the policy of the company to replace roadmasters with civil engineers. We requested him to give us an outline in writing stating what he considers fair wages, and fair conditions of employment for maintenance-of-way men.

In reply to our request on the 8th instant, he suggested that conferences be resumed, and on the same day sent out a list of printed rules without attaching any signature thereto; they are being distributed by roadmasters, who are telling the men along the line that their committee went home. The president of the company will be informed of the double dealing that is going on, and requested to consider your grievances at once, and make a fair settlement; if he declines to do so, a suspension of work will be ordered. You know what your instructions to your committee are; rest assured they will be carried out to the best of our ability. We have not and are not going to act rash; if the company forces us to suspend work, we will "strike to win," even if it takes a year. We have been fair with the manager; your grievances were submitted in writing, with an explanation why you think you are entitled to the things asked for; if he has any conception of fair wages and fair conditions of employment for our craft, he has not submitted it to your committee in writing. Pay no attention to rumors or false reports; be as true to yourselves and families as your committee is going to be to your interests. If you will do this the matter will be settled and settled right. Yours in B. L. and U.

(Signed) JOSEPH LENNON, chairman.
" R. C. MONTGOMERY,
" E. E. NASON,
" THEODORE EDMUNDSON,
" F. F. FREDERIC,
" J. B. BRUNSKILL,
" GEORGE McTAGGART,
" J. W. JOHNSON,
" A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

REMARKS:

It seems that at least some of the officials of the Canadian Pacific Railway are not disposed to be fair with the committee, the men they represent, or the public. They did not stop at telling the men all along the line that your committee had left Montreal, which is false. In some cases they have told the men that the committeemen were drunk, and did not attend to business while here. In defence of the committee I must say they have conducted themselves in a manner becoming to gentlemen and good citizens and have earnestly worked night and day trying to effect a peaceable settlement. The only drunken man I have seen in Montreal was one of the C. P. Railway officials, who asked me to advise him what to do, and wanted to know if I thought it would be proper for him to make a confession to his superior officer. I told him to go to bed, and get sober and then go home and ask his wife to excuse him, and his God to pardon him and to conduct himself as a gentleman should hereafter, and fear no man.

If your committee fails to make a settlement, and trouble is forced upon you, maintain your manhood, continue to be honest, hard-working, law-abiding

citizens, as you have been in the past, and the good people of the Dominion of Canada will aid you in your struggles to redress the wrongs that have been, and are now being imposed upon you.

J. T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

The attitude of the manager towards the committeemen, coupled with the doings of his subordinate officials, was taken as proof positive that he did not intend to recognize the committee or to make a satisfactory settlement with it.

After discussing the situation, the committee decided not to consume any more time arguing the case with him, and placed the matter in the hands of the president of their organization.

The following is a copy of the letter sent by the president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen to the president of the C. P. Ry. company:

Montreal, June 10th, 1901.

T. G. Shaughnessy, President Canadian Pacific Railway Co.

Dear Sir: Enclosed herewith is a copy of a circular letter which has been forwarded to each of your maintenance-of-way men by a committee duly authorized to represent them and to treat with the company for the purpose of securing a satisfactory agreement pertaining to wages, terms and conditions of employment, etc.

In behalf of the committee I feel authorized to say they are anxious to secure a fair and satisfactory settlement, to perpetuate harmony and good feeling among all of your employes and to aid in improving the service of the company.

According to my judgment the committee has been much fairer with your subordinates in trying to effect a settlement than they (your subordinates) have been towards the committee. The men realize that they need employment from the company, but at the same time think the company should in some way give substantial evidence of its appreciation of their services.

It being the policy of the organization I represent (the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America) to avert trouble between our members and their employers when it can be done in an honorable way, I will request you to receive the committee and consider the men's complaints, and I will be glad to do anything I can that seems to me right and reasonable to aid in bringing about a proper understanding and a satisfactory settlement of all differences.

The committee is of the opinion that if the company desires to retain them and the men they represent in its service, steps should be taken along practical lines at once to bring the matter to a close.

If you desire to avoid a suspension of work by the maintenance-of-way men on your road and will consider the men's complaints at once, please advise me not later than noon today (June 11); in case no answer is received by the time specified the responsibility for any inconvenience to the public that may take place will rest with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Yours very truly, JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

The president of the C. P. Ry. company made no direct reply to

the above, but his private secretary sent the following communication to the chairman of the trackmen's committee:

Montreal, Que., June 11, 1901.

J. Lennon, Esq., Grand Union Hotel, City.

Dear Sir: The president is in receipt of a letter intimating that a committee of the company's employes in the maintenance-of-way department, who have been in communication with the second vice-president and general manager about wages and other matters without, apparently, reaching a satisfactorily agreement, wish an interview with the president, so that he may consider the committee's complaints, and, presumably, give his assistance towards the adjustment of any difficulties that may exist.

I am instructed by the president to say that, in accordance with his uniform practice in similar cases, he will be glad to meet your commit'ee of employes of the maintenance-of-way department at his office tomorrow (Wednesday) morning, at 11 o'clock.

Unfortunately his previous engagements will keep him occupied this afternoon. Yours truly, JAS. R. NELSON, Secretary.

The committee called at the office of the president the next morning (June 12), as per written request. After discussing the questions at issue for about an hour the conference adjourned with the understanding that the discussion would be resumed at three o'clock in the afternoon. A few minutes before three o'clock the chairman of the committee was called to the telephone in the Grand Union Hotel and informed not to come to the president's office, but to await the receipt of a letter which was then being prepared. The following is a copy:

Montreal, 12th June, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Montreal.

Dear Sir: Inasmuch as you and the other employes of the maintenance-of-way department did not appear to have full information as to the rates at present in force on the company's line, because of the changes made during the past two months, I give it to you as follows:

Effective the first of May we made advances:

All divisions: 10 cents per day to first man in each section gang when he has worked one year, continuously, as C. P. R. section man.

Effective the first of June, we made still further advances:

ATLANTIC DIVISION.

Foremen in charge of yards at McAdam and West St. John, increased from $1.90 to $2.00 per day.

Second man in each section gang increased, so that he will receive only five cents per day less than first man, when he has worked one year, continuously as C. P. R. section man.

All section men in main line terminal yards increased to same rate as second man, when they have worked one year, continuously, as C. P. R. section men.

Foremen of extra gangs will be paid from $2.00 to $2.50 per day, according to nature of work and number of men in gang, as may be decided by general superintendent.

EASTERN DIVISION.

Foremen in charge of yards and terminals at						
Megantic	increased from	$1.90	to	$2.00	per	day.
Sherbrooke	"	"	1.80 to	2.00	"	"
Newport	"	"	1.80 to	2.00	"	"
Richford	"	"	1.80 to	2.00	"	"
Farnham	"	"	2.00 to	2.10	"	"
Smith's Falls	"	"	2.00 to	2.10	"	"
Montreal Ter. (2)	"	"	1.80 to	1.90	"	"
Ottawa	"	"	2.00 to	2.10	"	"
Carleton Jct	"	"	2.00 to	2.10	"	"

Second man in each section gang increased so that he will receive only five cents per day less than first man when he has worked one year continuously as C. P. R. section man.

All section men in main line terminal yards to be increased to same rate as second man, when they have worked one year continuously as C. P. R. section men.

Foremen of extra gangs will be paid from $2.00 to $2.50 per day according to nature of work and number of men in gang, as may be decided by general superintendent.

ONTARIO DIVISION.

Foremen in charge of terminals at Toronto (3) increased from $2.00 to $2.10 per day, and at Havelock and Owen Sound (2) increased from $1.90 to $2.00 per day.

Second man in each section gang to be increased so that he will receive only five cents per day less than the first man, when he has worked one year continuously as C. P. R. section man.

All section men in main line terminal yards to be increased to same rate as second man, when they have worked one year continuously as C. P. R. section men.

Foremen of extra gangs will be paid from $2.00 to $2.50 per day according to nature of work and number of men in gang, as may be decided by general superintendent.

LAKE SUPERIOR DIVISION.

Foremen in charge of terminal yards at Chalk River, North Bay, Webbwood, Sault Ste. Marie, Cartier, Chapleau, White River and Schreiber, increased from $2.00 to $2.10 per day.

Second man in each section increased so that he will receive only five cents per day less than first man when he has worked one year continuously as C. P. R. section man.

All section men in main line terminal yards to be increased to same rate as second man, when they have worked one year continuously as C. P. R. section men.

Foremen of extra gangs will be paid from $2.00 to $2.50 per day according to nature of work and number of men in gang, as may be decided by general superintendent.

WESTERN DIVISION.

Foremen in charge of terminal yards at Broadview, Moosejaw, Swift Current, Medicine Hat, Calgary and Laggan, increased from $55.00 to $60.00 per month.

Section men from Cranbrook to Crow's Nest inclusive: Leading man in each section gang to be increased from $1.35 to $1.50 per day.

Second and other men in each section gang to be increased from $1.25 to $1.40 per day.

Section men on main line and branches except from Crow's Nest to Kootenay Landing:

Second man in each section gang to be increased so that he will receive only five cents per day less than the first man, when he has worked one year continuously as C. P. R. section man.

All section men in main line terminal yards now receiving less than $1.40 per day to be increased to same rate as second man when they have worked one year continuously as C. P. R. section men.

Foremen of extra gangs will be paid from $2.00 to $3.00 per day, according to nature of work and number of men in gang, as may be decided by general superintendent.

PACIFIC DIVISION.

Foremen in charge of terminal yards at section No. 1 out of Vancouver, Revelstoke, Roger's Pass, Field, Nakusp, Rossland, Nelson, Sandon, Three Forks to be increased from $55.00 to $60.00 per month.

Section men: First man (white labor only) in each gang, Vancouver to Laggan inclusive, and main line branches to be increased from $1.35 to $1.40 per day. All other section men (white labor only) in same limits to be increased from $1.25 to $1.35 per day.

Foremen of extra gangs will be paid from $2.00 to $3.00 per day, according to nature of work and number of men in gang, as may be decided by general superintendent.

Switch tenders, Field grade, from $40.00 to $45.00 per month.

Track and bridge watchmen to be advanced $3.00 per month, maximum $45.00 per month.

Bridgemen to receive uniform rating over division.

We have also placed in effect the enclosed set of rules with regard to the service of section foremen and section men. [This refers to rules sent out under date of June 7.]

In view of our conversation this morning, it has been decided to grant to section foremen transportation once a year to any point on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and similar transportation to section men and others engaged on maintenance-of-way work who have been in our service for a period of three years.

With these advances and liberal rules I find that our track forces are receiving generally a higher rate of pay than is in effect on any other railway on this continent.

Yours truly,

D. McNICOLL, Second Vice-President and General Manager.

CHAPTER III.

STRIKE ORDER ISSUED.

The committee considered the foregoing letter, in conjunction with the reports which were being received daily from members relative to the actions of the minor officials along the line, a refusal upon the part of the manager to recognize the committee as the maintenance-of-way men's chosen representatives and a challenge from the company. A motion to order a suspension of work was then offered, seconded, discussed at some length, voted upon and carried unanimously.

On June 12 the following letter, before being mailed to the members of the B. R. T. of A., was presented to the president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen, by the committeemen, for his approval:

Being unable to effect a settlement, according to your expressed wishes, with the Canadian Pacific Railway officials, your general grievance committee, as provided for in the certificate of authority, hereby orders a suspension of work, to take effect on Monday, June 17th, 1901, at 6 o'clock a. m., as authorized by section 13, page 28, of the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America.

All foremen in the maintenance-of-way department will put their cars and all tools in car houses and lock the doors, turning over all keys belonging to the company to the nearest station agent, after taking their receipts for the same. Then send the following message to their superior officers:—

Mr.....

Myself and men have suspended work, and will not be responsible for the company's property in our charge after 6 o'clock a. m., June 17th, 1901.

(Signed).....

This message should be sent promptly at 6 o'clock a. m. on the above date, or as soon thereafter as received. No order to resume work should be taken notice of unless it bears the written signature of your chairman and the impression of grand division seal of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America.

All bridgemen receiving notice as above will comply with same and be governed accordingly.

To remind you of your duty to your committee, we hereby reproduce the certificate of authority signed by you:—

To Whom it May Concern:

We, the undersigned maintenance-of-way department employes on the Canadian Pacific Railway, hereby authorize Messrs. J. Lennon, F. Frederick, R. C. Montgomery, Theo. Edmundson, E. E. Nason, J. B. Brunskill, Geo. A. McTaggart, J. W. Johnson and A. F. Stout, who constitute our general grievance committee, to confer with the proper officials of said Railway Company, and to enter into an agreement with them concerning our wages, terms and conditions of employment, etc.

It is expressly understood that in case the majority of the maintenance-of-way department employes on the Canadian Pacific Railway authorize said committee to enter into an agreement with the C. P. Railway officials (to sell their labor for them), and if the officials of said company decline to receive our committee and to enter into an agreement with it, similar to the agreements entered into with other classes of their employes, the committee, with the sanction of the grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America, will have authority to order a suspension of work, and their order will be obeyed.

The undersigned hereby bind themselves to carry out in good faith their part of the agreement entered into by the above named committee with the company's officials.

(Signed).....

We have done our duty as a committee, and it now rests with you to perform your duty as honest men. We will stay in Montreal until a satisfactory settlement has been reached.

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.
R. C. MONTGOMERY,
E. E. NASON,
THEODORE EDMUNDSON,
F. FREDERICK.
J. B. BRUNSKILL,
GEORGE McTAGGART,
J. W. JOHNSON,

Approved June 13.

J. T. WILSON, President of B. of R. T. of A.

Before approving of the foregoing order for the maintenance-of-way men to suspend work, the president of the B. R. T. of A. sent the following communication to the president of the C. P. Ry. company:

Montreal, June 13, 1901.

T. G. Shaughnessy, Esq., President C. P. Ry. Company.

Dear Sir: Owing to the manner in which negotiations have been conducted between your subordinate officials and our committee representing your maintenance-of-way men, I do not think it possible for them to make a satisfactory and peaceable settlement.

I judge from the reports received from our committee, that the gentlemen they have been holding conferences with are experienced diplomats, but it seems they are not broad enough to make allowance for a committee of humble workingmen, who have had no training in such matters; in fact, if I have been correctly informed, the conferences have been conducted in such a manner as to arouse passion instead of appealing to reason. According to rumors which seem to be well authenticated, the committee, and the men they represent have been referred to by officials of the company in a very disrespectful manner. One official is quoted as saying: "Bosh! Bosh! the idea of an ignorant lot of trackmen coming here and wanting to be dealt with like skilled workmen." Another of your officials holding an important position has scoffed at committees representing other classes of your employes, taking the position that they should be ashamed to ask for any concessions from the company, and that if any class of men in the service of the company should receive an increase of wages it should be the poor trackmen; "his heart went out for them," etc., but when the "poor trackmen's" committee appeared before him he took the position that if they would practice economy and live right they would have money to burn on $1.15 per day.

Other officials have reported to the men along the line that their committee (trackmen's) had left Montreal, were drunk, and did not attend to business while here, etc., and that they were "a set of fools."

Your general manager takes the position that it would be unjust to the stockholders for him to make a greater allowance for maintenance-of-way men. Having studied the wage and transportation questions for several years I think I can make a suggestion which, if put into practice, would enable the company to allow its maintenance-of-way men all they have asked for, and, at the same time, increase the dividends. My suggestion is this: If the company would restrict the use of free passes to railway mail clerks and railway employes generally, and require all who ride on complimentary passes to pay for transportation, the increase in revenue would amount to a great deal more than the increase in wages which the maintenance-of-way men are asking for.

I asked one of your conductors sometime ago how many passengers he had in the two sleeping cars attached to his train. His answer was, "Forty-two." I then asked how many were riding on complimentary passes. He replied, "Twenty-two." On another occasion six passengers and myself were riding in a first-class coach, and I asked the conductor how many of us were paying our fare." He replied: "Yourself and one other." On another occasion a passenger was on board, traveling on a complimentary pass to Vancouver and return, who appreciated the favor to such an extent that he was swearing at and damning the C. P. Ry. company on account of its poor sleeping car facilities.

Another of your passenger train conductors, in answer to a question propounded by myself, stated that about half of the people who rode on the train he was in charge of, rode on passes and that about 75 per cent of the passes were complimentary; the other 25 per cent were issued to employes.

I am also advised that your manager retains in the service of the company an army of train auditors and private detectives at an expense of several thousand dollars a year to the company. Honest workingmen take offense at being scrutinized by idle parasites who consume but do not produce wealth.

Such things have a tendency to prejudice employes against the corporation they are employed by.

On my arrival in Montreal on the 29th of May I stopped at the Grand Union Hotel. A rough looking character stopped at the hotel the same day and kept a close watch on me until I requested the clerk to give him to understand that I was not a criminal and did not care to have strangers following me about town.

If you desire to take the matter up with me for the purpose of finding out what is right and proper under the circumstances, and effect a peaceable settlement with your maintenance-of-way men, I will be glad to begin negotiations on the following conditions:

1. You to concede that the committee, which has been practically ignored by your subordinate officials, are your maintenance-of-way men's chosen representatives, with myself as their spokesman

2. That the committee and the men they represent should not be humiliated and discouraged by the company refusing to enter into an agreement with the committee, setting forth the terms and conditions of their employment, and that the agreement be signed by the proper official of the road.

3. Conferences to begin tomorrow (June 14) and to continue daily thereafter (Sundays excepted) until we agree or disagree.

4. You to employ one stenographer competent to report the proceedings, and the committee to employ another equally competent.

5. Our committee and such other officials as you desire to have present, to meet and participate in the conferences.

Our committee representing your maintenance-of-way men voted last night, without a dissenting vote, to order a suspension of work.

The matter is now in my hands, and if I am not advised by you before three o'clock this afternoon (June 13) that you will endeavor to effect a settlement along the lines above indicated, my sanction for the committee to order a suspension of work will be given.

I sincerely hope that trouble can be averted, and I certainly do not desire to consent to anything that might inconvenience the public or embarrass the C. P. Railway officials; but the men I am speaking for are as essential to the successful operation of railways as any other class, and are entitled to similar treatment from the officials of the company. Yours very respectfully,

JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

No reply was received to the above letter.

The following letter, issued by the C. P. Ry. officials the day before they were notified that the maintenance-of-way men's representatives would order a suspension of work, proves that the officials did not intend to recognize the committee nor to make an amicable settlement:

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

North Bay, 13th June, 1901.

To Maintenance-of-Way Employes, Canadian Pacific Railway:

A committee, claiming to represent a large number of our maintenance-of-way employes, had a meeting with our management at Montreal in April last. They submitted a memo of what they claimed to be grievances, and were told

as it would take some weeks to investigate same, free transportation would be given them to return to their homes, and a promise was made then that by the end of May they would be recalled to Montreal for conference.

They were recalled to Montreal on the 30th of May, when the question of pay and conditions of maintenance-of-way employes were fully discussed with them. It was pointed out that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had made extensive enquiry and found they were then paying as much, and in many cases more than was paid by other railways, and that the conditions of section men on the whole were very much better on the Canadian Pacific Railway than elsewhere.

The committee were also advised that the company, desiring to see their employes satisfied, had made many increases dating from 1st May and 1st June, benefitting especially those who had been in our service for some time, which increases amounted on the whole to about one hundred thousand dollars per annum.

A memo of rules dated 7th June, governing the service of section foremen and section men, was also issued by the company, and since then has been added to, the company in addition agreeing to give section foremen transportation once a year over any part of its line, and similar transportation to other maintenance-of-way employes who have been in the service for three years or more.

The committee have been received throughout the conference in the most frank and kindly manner, and were afforded every opportunity to give reasons why their demands should be complied with, but have failed to give any sound reason.

While we know that many of the employes on maintenance-of-way are satisfied with their pay and conditions, and are not represented by the committee, having been so advised by them, we feel that others whom the committee claim to represent should known the true state of affairs, and we hope that neither the committee nor any large number of our employes who have been in the company's service for years, and in whose welfare the company and its officers are sincerely interested, will be guided by hasty and reckless advice.

T. WILLIAMS,
General Superintendent, Lake Superior Division.

At 3 p. m. the order for the maintenance-of-way men to suspend work on the C. P. Ry. system was approved by the president of the B. R .T. of A., and a copy of same was then mailed to each member of the order on the system. The following official notice (with copy of strike order enclosed), was sent to the president of the C. P. Ry. company:

Montreal, June 14, 1901.

T. G. Shaughnessy, Esq., President Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Dear Sir: You will find enclosed a copy of an order issued by our committee who are representing your maintenance-of-way department employes, for them to suspend work at 6 o'clock a. m., Monday, June 17th.

Our committee issued a notice of the suspension of work which is to take place, to the public this a. m. Reporters from all of the afternoon papers called at our committee room and received copies of same, and I presume this notice will appear in each of the Montreal afternoon papers.

Although you did not consider my communication of yesterday of any significance, I feel constrained to advise you that an industrial upheaval of no small magnitude is liable to take place during the next few days unless men of your station and influence make efforts along prudent and practical lines to avert it. There is a strong suspicion in the minds of men who are conducting the affairs of industrial organizations that the members of the Railway Managers' Association have entered into an agreement to make war on industrial organizations, more especially those composed of railway employes.

* * * *

I do not claim perfection for trade unions. They are human institutions and their officers and members often make mistakes, but they have been formed for the purpose of coping with organized greed, and for the mutual welfare of participants, while, in my judgment, the General Managers' Association has been formed for the purpose of oppressing the oppressed. * * * *

Your maintenance-of-way men are well organized and are very determined. * * * *

I maintain the public have rights in these matters that should be considered, and am anxious to co-operate with those who desire to prevent industrial disturbances and to keep the wheels of industry moving. When the purchasing power of a wage-earner's dollar is decreased so that it will take 100 cents to purchase what 80 cents would purchase two years ago, the workingman must have a corresponding increase in his wages, or adjust himself to a lower standard of living—one of the two. Yours respectfully,

JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

June 14 the following "Notice to the Public" was issued by the committee:

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC:

We, the committee representing the maintenance-of-way department employes on the Canadian Pacific Railway, have been trying to effect an amicable adjustment of the men's differences with the C. P. Ry. officials for the last two months, but to our sorrow and disappointment we find it impossible to make any kind of a settlement with the company.

We hold written instructions from at least ninety-five per cent of the regular men employed in the maintenance-of-way department to secure an agreement setting forth the terms and conditions of their employment, or to order a suspension of work. After exhausting every means known to us to bring about a satisfactory settlement we decided to order a suspension of work. * * * *

In consideration, however, of the rights and safety of the traveling public, we decided that the strike should not become effective until 6 o'clock a. m. on the morning of June 17. The general manager contends that he has offered to make liberal concessions to the men we represent, and that if we were reasonable men we would accept and be satisfied with the new rules adopted by the company for the government of our craft.

The following letter received by our president from one of the section men explains the manner in which the men are receiving what the general manager calls "liberal concessions":

Dear Sir and Brother.—I wish you to bring before our committee at the Grand Union Hotel, Montreal, the following facts, which I hope will give them an idea of the kind of officials they have to deal with, and also to show how those same officials are doing (as they say) all they can for us. I am one of these five-cent men (as we boys call it); that is, the great C. P. R. company has condescended to advance my wages the whole of five cents a day. Just as I was congratulating myself on the advance in wages I received notice that after a certain date track-walkers on Sunday would only be allowed one-half day's pay for their services, where formerly we received a day's pay. As we are such an ignorant class of men, it took me some little time to figure out "where I was at," but I found the result as follows: Decrease in wages through track-walking being cut down, 57½ cents; increase in wages, six days at five cents per day, 30 cents; balance in favor of C. P. R. company, per week, 27½ cents. Now, sir, does the C. P. R. company think for a moment that we are to be gulled that way? Every man in this part of the country is up in arms at such a low piece of trickery. It surely must be the same official who, it is said, concocted the scheme that beat each one of the trainmen out of two or three dollars a month, and received as a reward one thousand per annum increase in his own salary. Of course, we know it is not supposed to be a very hard job to fool the ordinary trackman, but we object to being "done up" that way, and if our committee cannot make a fair and reasonable settlement with the company, we are prepared to fight the matter to the bitter end.

(Signed).....

All members of the B. R. T. of A., are earnestly requested to refrain from saying or doing anything that would reflect discredit upon them, or cause the honest thinking people of Canada to withhold their support while we are struggling with a giant corporation to secure a just share of the wealth we help to create.

J. LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE BEGINS.

On June 17 telegraphic reports indicated that, with few exceptions, the maintenance-of-way men on about 10,000 miles of railroad had simultaneously suspended work—an unheard of occurrence in the history of railroading.

To give a complete record of all that took place in connection with the strike, from June 17 to August 30 (the day upon which the agreement was reached with the company), would require more space than we have at our disposal; therefore we shall only consider the most important features.

The officials of the company took the position that the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Ry. system were as well treated as the same class of men on any other railway on the continent.

On June 18 the company's statement, according to local newspaper reports, was to the effect that not more than ten per cent of the men had responded to the order to quit work, and the strike had already "fizzled out."

On the evening of June 19 I addressed a public meeting in the interests of the striking trackmen in Forum Hall, Toronto, Ont. According to newspaper reports, after I had left the hall to take a train

for Montreal, Mr. Armstrong, a former president of the Typographical Union, severely criticised the striking trackmen on the C. P. Ry. system for making efforts to bring about improved conditions for themselves and families, taking the position that trackmen on other roads were receiving less wages than the C. P. Ry. company was paying.

The following explains the trackmen's position, and is a refutation of newspaper statements:

Montreal, June 21, 1901.

TO THE PUBLIC: We, the chosen representatives of the maintenance-of-way department employes on the Canadian Pacific Railway, desire to refute statements which have appeared in various newspapers concerning the strike situation on the C. P. Railway, and to advise the public of the true state of affairs.

Reports to the effect that the men are returning to work in various localities are denied by local representatives of the trackmen's organization, who have been instructed to keep the committee advised of the true state of affairs in their respective localities.

We wired the local representative at Owen Sound to know if the report to the effect that the men between Owen Sound and Toronto were at work, was true. The reply came back:

THE MEN ALL OUT AND WILL STAY OUT UNTIL TOLD BY COMMITTEE TO RETURN.

A similar message was sent to Winnipeg. The reply was:

ALL OUT TO STAY.

The report that the men have all returned to work on the C. P. Railway in the State of Maine is refuted by the local representative from Presque Isle, as the following message will show:

THEY SAY IN THE PAPERS THAT THE MEN HAVE GONE BACK TO WORK. THIS IS NOT TRUE. NOT ONE OF THEM HAS GONE BACK. ALL ARE OUT TO STAY.

Similar reports have been received from various parts of the entire system. Any citizen who would not use the names of the parties making reports for blacklisting purposes is at liberty to call at our committee room for the purpose of convincing himself whether or not our statements are correct.

A commercial traveler called at the committee room and said he wanted to go to Manitoba, and desired to go via the C. P. Railway. He called at the office of the company and was told the strike was over, about all of the men had resumed work, etc. He doubted the truthfulness of the statement, came to the committee room, and requested us to advise him of the true state of affairs. We exhibited messages received from local agents at various places. After inspecting them he remarked: "The C. P. Railway officials are criminal liars. I have a wife and children to live for and will go to Manitoba over some other road."

There seems to be a disposition on the part of certain individuals to lead the public mind away from the principles involved in the contest between the C. P. Railway company and its maintenance-of-way men. Were it possible, they would divert the minds of the public and persuade them to believe the contest is between the company and the president of the B. R. T. of A. Such is not the case. If we lose in the contest it means more poverty, more misery

and suffering for the maintenance-of-way men and their families; if we secure a fair settlement it means more of the necessaries of life for ourselves and families.

The president of our organization is a hired man. He came here in obedience to our command. We help to pay his salary. We certainly have as much right to associate ourselves together in an industrial organization and employ a president to look after our interests, as the stockholders of the C. P. Railway company or any other organization have to combine their capital and employ a president to look after their interests.

The "Gazette" this morning makes a very poor argument in behalf of the company, under the caption "Lack of Sympathy Worries Strikers." We believe we have the sympathies of all intelligent, honest, justice and peace-loving citizens, who are familiar with the questions at issue. We have requested the officials of the C. P. Railway company, in an humble and most respectful manner, to concede to us the right to have a word to say about the terms and conditions of our employment. We have been scoffed at, ignored, and our actions have been misrepresented by the C. P. Railway officials to our constituents,—a poor class of men who are eking out a miserable existence and are struggling for relief.

It is also stated in the "Gazette" that a Mr. Armstrong found fault with the position taken by our president at a meeting held in Toronto on the 19th inst. Our president says there is no truth in this statement. If Mr. Armstrong made an argument in favor of the company it was after he left the meeting place. If Mr. Armstrong has been correctly reported, he must be a tool, a hireling, and would stab labor in the back in the absence of its defenders.

The position taken by the company and those who uphold it in refusing to pay its maintenance-of-way men living wages because the Grand Trunk and other railways are withholding from their maintenance-of-way men a just share of the wealth they help to create has no weight with intelligent people. Wages are not regulated by justice; they are regulated by the power of industrial organization to force them up. The I. T. U., of which Mr. Armstrong is a member, it is said, does not maintain a uniform scale of wages. The printers in Montreal, members of the I. T. U., struck for $11.00 a week a short time ago, and, we have been informed, won their strike. Printers in other towns, members of the same organization, very recently demanded a minimum scale of $18.00 per week, and a nine-hour work day. Their demands were conceded by their employers, not because they loved their employes and did business from a standpoint of justice, but because they did not feel disposed to enter into a contest with the printer's union.

If maintenance-of-way men on other roads in Canada are members of the B. R. T. of A. we are not aware of it. We are endeavoring to fight our own battles on the C. P. Railway with the only means at our command—organization. If labor organizations must confine their operations to localities where wages are lowest, all advocates of high wages and a higher standard of living should leave this and other civilized countries and confine their operations to heathenized China where workingmen are paid from four to seven cents per day.

JOS. LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

June 20 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

Reports received up to date indicate that at least ninety-five per cent of the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway system have suspended work.

The company is sending out circular letters and well paid agents over the road, trying to induce the men to resume work. They claim to have made liberal offers to the committee. Such is not the case. The company positively refused to enter into any agreement with your committee. The so-called "liberal increase in wages" and "rules" were not even presented to your committee for approval, by the company, until they had been distributed by officials who told the men in many cases that your committee had gone home.

You sent us to Montreal to secure an agreement setting forth the terms and conditions of your employment, and we are going to remain here until you compel the company to treat us with as much consideration as it treats all other classes of its employes.

In undertaking to put ourselves on an equality with other classes of railway employes we are doing right. Stand firm! Be true to your own interests; and the members of other organizations, the officials of the C. P. Railway company, and the public will respect us. But if you heed the advice of the officials and well paid agents sent along the line to try and persuade you to return to work, they will say in the future what has been said in the past, "Trackmen are a set of fools and have not got enough sand to quit work and stay out until they are recognized and dealt with in the same manner as other classes of railway employes."

The officials are trying to sustain themselves in the position taken, by stating to the public that they are paying trackmen more wages than is being paid by other roads in Canada. We admit they are; they also pay the C. P. officials and other classes of employes more than is paid on other roads. Italians receive more wages than Chinamen,—neither are making progress. We must go forward and not backward. We are Canadians and Americans and do not propose to adopt a lower standard of living.

The maintenance-of-way men are not receiving a just share of the wealth created on any of the roads; our craft is being wronged by all companies. The injustice differs only in degree.

On account of the rise in prices other employers have increased the wages of employes. The purchasing power of our wage has decreased 20 per cent in the last two years; the company is making money; times are prosperous. We should not be compelled to stint our families and reduce our standard of living one-fifth, because times are prosperous.

Explain these matters to your friends, and, if necessary, the good people of Canada will aid us in our struggle. Stand firm and we will win, because our position is right, and right should prevail. Yours in B. L. and U.,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

On the same day the following message was sent to all strikers by the president of the C. P. Ry. company:

TO ALL MAINTENANCE-OF-WAY MEN WHO ARE AT WORK, OR WHO HAVE SUSPENDED WORK:

I have seen the circular issued by the operating officers to the trackmen this afternoon, and, therefore, feel it a duty to urge the men, many of whom have been in the company's service for several years, to consider the situation carefully before finally abandoning their occupations. The committee had an interview with me, at which I heard and gave the gravest attention to everything advanced, in the interest of their fellow-workmen.

Had there been the slightest warrant for concessions beyond those already made by the company's officers, matters would not have been permitted to reach an acute stage. The men charged with the administration of the company's affairs are justified in according to employes the highest pay prevailing on neighboring railways and the greatest consideration in other respects that circumstances will permit. If they go beyond this, they are open to the accusation of incompetency or extravagance. The company has no quarrel with the men in the maintenance-of-way department. There is no desire to show resentment because of what has occurred. On the contrary, it is hoped that, having given the committee all promised support, every man will return to his work promptly, so as to obtain the advantage of the concessions, representing a very large annual sum that the company felt justified in making, and to give to the company and its officers the same loyal service and support that have characterized every branch of the service from the beginning.

In dealing with your committee, the company was not governed by petty or technical considerations. From the time that the discussion commenced the only question was as to what could properly be done in the direction of meeting you, and as soon as this was determined it was put into effect immediately.

The moderation and good sense that you have displayed on nearly every section of the system since the trouble commenced yesterday morning bear testimony to your worth as employes and make the company the more anxious to retain your services, if at all possible.

Apart from every official consideration, I would be sincerely sorry if any of our old employes should leave us to accept other service without the certainty of improving their positions. T. G. SHAUGHNESSY.

June 25 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

One week has elapsed since you suspended work. Although the officials have been making strenuous efforts to induce the men to return to work, but one man, so far as we have been advised, has perjured himself.

Quite a number of those who did not suspend work on the 17th inst., owing either to the fact that they had not received notice to suspend work, or were not members of our order, have since quit work and informed the committee that they will not return until a fair settlement is reached.

Tell those who attempt to persuade you to desert our cause, degrade yourselves, and remain in a subservient position, that you have placed the whole matter in the hands of your committee at Montreal, and they have full authority to act for you. If you allow yourselves to be persuaded by promises of promotion, increased wages, or by threats of eviction from the company's houses if you do not return to work within a certain time, the well-paid officials of the company, members of other organizations and the public generally will lose all respect for our craft.

Do not be influenced by newspaper reports or false rumors. According to newspaper reports and statements made by officials, a large number of the men returned to work at various points last week. We wired our local agents at these places to know if the reports were true. The same answer was received from each place: "All men out and will stay out until a satisfactory settlement is reached."

The company, with the aid of some of their official organs (the newspapers), are trying to make it appear to the public that it is unreasonable for us to contend for a just share of the wealth we create, because we are not being deprived of our just rights to the same extent as maintenance-of-way men on other roads.

Tell your friends and sympathizers that the contest is between the maintenance-of-way men and the C. P. Railway company, and not, as the company would have them believe, between our organization and the company.

Men have been hired to take our places and shipped to points where they cannot obtain employment, except from the company, but when informed of the true state of affairs, refused to go to work. Some of these men have been shipped to places where they can find employment, and others are being supplied with food at the expense of members of local divisions. The Grand Division is furnishing all funds necessary to be used in prosecuting the strike. Our Canadian Pacific system division will be required to defray some expenses which are necessary, but not provided for in the laws of our organization, and as we do not know how long the contest will continue, we would suggest that all concerned would accept such contributions as friends and sympathizers may desire to give. If the money collected is required for local purposes, it should be used to the best advantage. If you receive more than is necessary for local requirements, send it to the secretary of your committee, Mr. A. F. Stout, in each case giving the name of the contributor, and the amount, as we desire to place on record a list showing who our friends are.

The Canadian Pacific Railway company may prefer to pay men $5.00 a day for a few months to fill our places, rather than concede that we have the right to have anything to say about the terms and conditions of our employment, after which time, if they are successful in breaking up our organization, they will be in a position once more to regulate wages to suit themselves in the future, as they have been doing in the past.

We are informed that three foremen on one division were furnished with passes and requested to visit the superintendent's office in Montreal last Saturday. While we are not in a position to say what inducements were offered, we believe strenuous efforts were made to influence the men to return to work, and cause a break in our unbroken line on said superintendent's division. All loyal members of the organization should refuse to discuss the questions at issue with railway officials. Men who do not desire to be bribed should steer clear of possible "bribe-givers." Christ was betrayed by a Judas, and we expect a few traitors will be found in our ranks. Beware of men who visit officials of the company during the present crisis. All manly men despise traitors, and admire men, as the following instance will show: One of the officials said to one of our brothers the other day: "You had better return to work." He replied: "Our committee is in front of this battle and I will stand by it until H—— freezes over." The official remarked: "You are all right,

It makes no difference how this difficulty terminates, you will have employment."

We believe the company will realize the folly of continuing this contest in a few days, and that a satisfactory settlement will be reached, but, at the same time, we must be prepared to continue the struggle for six weeks, six months, or a year, if necessary. We have too much at stake in this contest to lose. We cannot afford it. We must win. Yours in B. L. & U.,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

The newspapers published numerous reports given out by the officials to the effect that the men were falling over each other in their efforts to get back into their old places. Here is a sample:

Montreal, June 25th.—The Canadian Pacific Railway company gives out the following tonight: So little is now thought of the trackmen's strike on the C. P. R. that the papers here scarcely refer to it. The general feeling is that the company is in the right this time, and that the strikers are following old Kruger's plan of keeping up a useless fight, injuring themselves far more than the company. The lack of sympathy with the strikers shown by the Toronto labor unions is also apparent here, and it now seems to be more a matter of personal prestige for John T. Wilson. It has been admitted on all sides that a bad blunder has been made in attacking a company that is known to treat its employes better than any of its neighbors, or even than the government itself does.

Inquiry at the Canadian Pacific headquarters confirms the report that many more foremen have returned to work today. The men have got tired of the strike, and one man returning brings more with him. It has been a case of not wanting to be the first to return. "The best day yet," Mr. McNicoll remarked.

Here is another criticism:

"President Wilson, the American, knows right well that, contrasted with the great American railway systems, the C. P. R. trackmen are the better paid men. He declines to discuss that fact, which is so much to the credit of the Canadian and so much to the discredit of the American railway systems. This transcendant gentleman, not being a British subject, comes into British territory, and gratuitously tells British subjects who follow the occupation of railway trackmen on the C. P. Ry. that they should stop work until it is settled that the C. P. Ry is paying its men a "fair share of the wealth they are helping to create." He does not deny that the C. P. Ry. is giving a larger share of that wealth than is given by the great corporate railway systems in the United States. Mr. Wilson is willing that the American trackmen may, comparatively speaking, starve. His sympathies are limited to the sufferings of poor Canucks. Morever, he does not care to have the American transit trade disturbed, whereas his patriotic soul would rejoice to see the C. P. Ry. and G. T. Ry. tied up from end to end. Probably President Wilson has an income equal to that of many trackmen, altogether apart from "casual advantages." Let him get home to his own side of the Niagara river. Let him wash his own linen, clean his own stables, and when he has raised the wages of trackmen on the great trunk railway systems of the United States to the level of those paid on Canadian systems; then he may show his face in British territory."

The Federated Trades Council, of Montreal, decided to hold a meeting on the evening of June 27, and invited the president of the B. R. T. of A. and the president of the C. P. Ry. company, to attend and explain the cause of the difficulty between the trackmen and the company. The Montreal Daily Witness comments as follows:

Mr. McNicoll smiled at the idea of either Mr. Shaughnessy or himself appearing at the meeting which is called for this evening at Blue Label Hall, in the East End, and which meeting is supposed to be representative of all the labor organizations in the city.

In a word, the general manager of the C. P. R. considers the strike practically over, although owing to the action of an obstinate committee and others some of the men remain out. The men had not been informed of the advances offered and many of them struck in the dark as to the real situation.

The Montreal Gazette contained the following reference to the meeting:

Mr. J. T. Wilson was then introduced and spoke for an hour. He said the trackmen felt that their committee had done everything in its power to secure a fair and satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties between the trackmen and the officials of the company, but from some cause the latter had failed to show any disposition whatever to bring about a peaceable settlement of the difficulties. He said that he had always tried to be fair in his dealings with men, and had never tried to arouse men's prejudices and passions, because he believed the emancipation of labor depended on men's ability to educate themselves to find out what their rights were and how to bind themselves together and secure a just share of the wealth which they create without industrial upheavals.

Mr. Wilson said that he believed in evolution; not revolution, and we could only have evolution by education. He maintained that trackmen were skilled laborers and charged superintendents and roadmasters of some sections with circulating false reports early in June, telling the men that their committee had left Montreal without any settlement being arrived at, and that while here they were drunk and did not attend to business.

He then read a communication which the chairman of the trackmen's committee had received last Wednesday from Calgary. It stated that Monday's and Tuesday's express trains were tied up there, and that all trains on the Edmonton branch were cancelled. Notwithstanding reports to the contrary all men there were out to stay. Galicians had refused to work for $5 a day and board and were being fed by the citizens of Calgary. Telegrams concerning Calgary strikers returning to work were devoid of truth. This communication, Mr. Wilson said, was signed by three members of the trackmen's organization at Calgary. With regard to the cry about other roads not paying as much as the C. P. Ry., he said to a man who had any conception of justice it had no weight, for he contended that all men who were able to do a fair day's work should not be required to work for less than $1.50 a day.

The trackmen were contending for better conditions, he said. They wanted to take a step in advance, and the parties opposing them said: "You have gone far enough. Stop!" The necessities of life, he remarked, were 20 per cent dearer here than they were two years ago. Mr. Wilson said these difficulties are

more due to misunderstanding than they are to the disposition of men to oppress others. Men who have studied industrial questions and know anything about the law of comparison and have considered the conditions in different countries, their productions, etc., can see that when we increase the wages of workers it means a greater demand for the products of labor, it means more business, more commercial life; and if the working people all through this country and the States could command $1.50 a day, business men would do better; the transportation companies would do better.

"We are not begging for money," Mr. Wilson remarked, "and are not here to deceive you. Our men are full of honest work, and we have sufficient funds to conduct the contest in a legitimate way, indefinitely; and we have ways of getting more.

The stability of the members of the organization on the Canadian Pacific railroad was something wonderful, he said. Only one report of desertion had yet been received at the committee room. The members of the Brotherhood of Trackmen were not going to do anything to disgrace the industrial classes of this country. They had been instructed to conduct themselves as gentlemen and law-abiding citizens, and anyone violating these instructions would receive no protection whatever.

I have no idea, he said, what is the object of the company in prolonging this contest, and in offering men five dollars a day, and going through the country and getting men who have been drunk and blacklisted and putting them in charge of track and the lives of the public. It seems to me they are making a very serious mistake. In conclusion Mr. Wilson said: "I have received information from good authority that the company is paying inexperienced men one dollar an hour at Calgary to do work that members of the B. R. T. of A. are willing to do for $1.50 a day.

The following is taken from the Montreal Daily Star:

After recounting the different stages of the negotiations, both in April and May, when the committee, which spoke for ninety-five per cent of the men, exhausted every resource known to them in the hope that a strike might be averted, all of which claims have from time to time been published, Mr. Wilson said:

"Brother workingmen, our cause is just; our tactics to win recognition for our humble, but honest, toilers are fair, and we are prepared to continue the struggle indefinitely. We do not come to you begging for money; we have ample for our needs, and should we require more our constitution provides ways to get it.

"But I desire to impress upon your mind the fact that this unpleasant warfare could have been averted had the officials of the C. P. R. treated the members of our committee with the recognition to which they are entitled. They speak with authority for the maintenance-of-way men employed on that system, and it is only through them that a settlement can be made; and I sincerely hope that a satisfactory adjustment of our differences may soon be brought about.

"In some quarters an appeal to narrow prejudices is made to injure our cause and discourage our men, every one of whom is satisfied to do an honest day's work. I am characterized as an interloper, an American, who has crossed the border into your country for the purpose of creating friction between em-

ployer and employe. Nothing, my brothers, could be farther from the truth. I have been honored with the presidency of our Brotherhood since it was founded, and I defy any one to prove a single instance where I did not put forth tireless and energetic efforts to preserve the harmony which should exist between a company and its men.

"I left nothing undone calculated to ward off trouble on the Maine Central three weeks ago; I tried hard to avert it on the C. P. R. one week later; and I would direct your attention to my recommendations made before the Industrial Commission at Washington two years ago, when I was a delegate from St. Louis. These are matters of record. I maintained then, and I still believe, that there should be created by the government a tribunal whose function it should be to take up disputes between employer and employe and adjust them fairly, their decision to be binding on both parties.

Away with national or racial prejudices! We can be honest men no matter where we were born. The time to do right is all the time, and the place is everywhere. I believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Our organization is international; two of the grand executive officers, out of a total of five, are Canadians.

"I am glad to be able to tell you truthfully, for I would not deceive you, that only one man from the Atlantic to the Pacific has deserted our ranks. Is this not remarkable in the history of strikes? The published reports from day to day that the trackmen are returning to work are absolutely without foundation.

But I repeat that I wish the trouble were over. It shall be just as soon as the C. P. R. officials are willing to recognize that our committee is not self-constituted, as they have claimed to men out on the line. Let them submit a counter-proposition and I believe we can reach an agreement. It is idle to argue that because the Intercolonial and Grand Trunk railways pay their men less than the C. P. railway, section men should not get more than they have been receiving. As well say that because China pays workingmen four cents a day, Italy should pay ten cents, and England a few cents more. I believe in arbitration when the men who make up that tribunal are practical, honest men."

Thus Mr. Wilson spoke for almost an hour. The most important feature of the speech, however, was the implied willingness to submit the case of the men to disinterested persons for settlement. It is understood that a compromise of the differences could easily be effected if the C. P. R. officials are willing to open the way to further conferences.

One of the greatest obstacles the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Ry. had to overcome was the contention that the company was paying its trackmen five cents a day more than other roads were paying the same class of men.

The president of the B. R. T. of A., when asked to explain why the trackmen's organization was trying to secure increased wages for its members on the C. P. Ry., when they were receiving more wages than men who performed the same class of work on other railways, more especially the Grand Trunk Railway, replied that the men on the G. T. Ry. were not union men and had not called upon the Brotherhood

to assist them in an effort to secure increased wages and better conditions of employment; the men on the C. P. Ry., however, had contributed part of their meagre earnings for the support of the organization, which entitled them to his services and the support of the organization. He also maintained that there had been a general rise in prices of the necessaries of life; the country generally was prosperous; the C. P. Ry. company was increasing dividends; therefore, the maintenance-of-way men should not be compelled to reduce their standard of living because times were prosperous. To prove his assertion that prices had advanced, he secured from a grocery merchant in Montreal a list showing the market values of the common food products for the year 1899, as compared with present (1901) prices:

LIST OF PRICES.

	1899.	1901.		1899.	1901.
Sugar, per lb.....	$0.04½	$0.05	Blueing, per lb.....	$0.13	$0.18
Butter, per lb.....	.21	.25	Washing Soda, per 100 lbs.	1.00	1.75
Bread, per loaf.....	.13	.15	Cheese, per lb.....	.12	.15
Lard, per lb.....	.10	.12	Biscuits, per lb.....	.10	.12
Ham, per lb.....	.13½	.16	Tobacco, per plug...	.05	.10
Bacon, per lb.....	.12	.15	Tobacco, leaf	.06	.10
Salt Pork, per lb.....	.07	.11	Potatoes (90 lbs.)...	.70	.84
Flour, per lb.....	.02½	.03½	Rubbers, per pr.....	.65	.90
Peas (dried)	.02½	.04	Boots, per pr.....	3.00	3.50
Beans, per lb.....	.02½	.04	Matches, per pkg....	.10	.12½
Barley, per lb.....	.02½	.03½	Coal Oil, per gal....	.17	.20
Rice, per lb.....	.04	.05½			
Rolled Oats, per lb..	.02½	.03½			
Can Goods, per can	.07	.10		$7.17¼	$9.36½
Soap, per bar.....	05	.07			

The above list shows a little over 30 per cent increase; that is, it requires $9.36½ to purchase in 1901 what $7.17¼ would purchase in 1899.

For some reason the above information was not placed before the public by the publishers of newspapers.

The contention that maintenance-of-way men should continue to work for less than an equitable share of the wealth they create, because the same class of men on other roads continue to do so, is absurd. If one citizen has a sick child and desires the services of a physician, should he be compelled to allow it to die without the attention of a physician because some other person in a community is too heartless to employ a doctor? If men employed by one railway company are being deprived of their rights is it fair for the public to condemn them when they band themselves together and make united efforts to bring about improved conditions for themselves and families, because

the same class of men on other roads have not got brains or courage enough to do likewise?

The maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Ry., or any other road, have a right to form themselves into protective organizations, and to contend for living wages and fair treatment, without regard to the miserable conditions surrounding the same class of men on other roads. In spite of capitalists, with a monopolized means of communication, and a subsidized press to aid them, the sympathies of Canadians generally were with the striking trackmen, and they are deserving of the respect of all good citizens for making a manly fight in an honorable and law-abiding way to improve their condition.

CHAPTER V.

IMPORTING ALIENS.

By July 1 the strike had reached an acute stage. Reports received from local representatives were to the effect that the officials were making desperate efforts to fill men's places with foreign laborers; that aliens were being brought across the line in large numbers, under contract, and, in some instances, paid as much as one dollar an hour. In many cases the strikers and their sympathizers petitioned the local authorities to enforce the Canadian Alien Labor law. Failing to obtain relief in that way, they insisted upon their representatives in Montreal taking the matter up with the Minister of Labor at Ottawa.

July 2 the president of the B. R. T. of A., in company with Mr. A. E. Baker, Canadian solicitor for the organization, called on the Deputy Minister of Labor at Ottawa, explained the situation, and filed the following complaint:

Russell House, Ottawa, July 3rd, 1901.

Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, Deputy Minister of Labor, Ottawa, Can.

Dear Sir: As president of the International Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen, I desire to advise you that the Canadian Alien Labor Act is not being enforced at the various ports of entry in Canada. At a number of points, both in Ontario and in the other Provinces, importations of Italians and other alien laborers are being made by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and these men are being employed by the said company in connection with the operation of their road in Canada.

These men are employed under contract, made by agents of the company, at various places along the border in the United States. From information I have received, which is in every way reliable, I feel justified in making the above statement and believe it in every way to be correct. I might state further that inducements, such as higher wages than is customary, have been made in order to import such labor.

On behalf of the trackmen I desire to set forth these facts, and to request

that you take such steps as are necessary to protect the Canadian workmen and to enforce the Alien Labor Act. Yours truly,

JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

The Deputy Minister of Labor replied as follows:

Ottawa, July 3, 1901.

Sir: I desire to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of today, in which you state that at a number of points, both in Ontario and other provinces, importations of Italians and other alien labour are being made in violation of the Alien Labour Act, and in which you request, on behalf of the trackmen, that such steps be taken as are necessary to protect the Canadian workmen and enforce the Alien Labour Act.

I desire to inform you that this department has communicated with the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway in reference to this matter, by informing him of the alleged violations which have been brought to the notice of the department, and enclosing for his information a copy of the Alien Labour Act which sets forth the penalties to which the company renders itself liable by violating the act.

This department has also communicated with the Canadian immigration agents at the several agencies throughout the Dominion, bringing to their attention the statements contained in your communication, and enclosing for their information copies of the Alien Labour Act, with the request that where they have reason to believe that these provisions are being infringed, they shall bring the provisions of the act to the notice of the parties affected.

I inclose herewith a copy of the communication sent to the president of the C. P. R. and a copy of the communication sent to the immigration offices as above mentioned. Also a copy of the consolidation of the Acts to Restrict the Importation and Employment of Aliens, recently prepared by this department

I am, sir, Your obedient servant,

W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Deputy Minister of Labour.

John T. Wilson, Esq., President Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America.

(Copy of letter sent to the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Co.)

Ottawa, 3rd July, 1901.

Sir: This department has received a communication on behalf of the Railway Trackmen stating that at a number of points both in Ontario and in the other Provinces, importations of Italians and other * * * * classes of labour are being made by the C. P. R., in violation of the provisions of the Alien Labour Act.

It is further stated that these men are employed under contract made by agents of your company along the border of the United States.

I respectfully beg to enclose herewith a copy of the consolidation of the Alien Labour Acts which contains the amendments to the Acts of 1897 and 1898, passed at the last session of Parliament, for your information.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,

W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Deputy Minister of Labour.

T. G. Shaughnessy, Esq., President Canadian Pacific Railway.

(Copy of letter sent to immigration agents.)

Ottawa, 3rd July, 1901.

Dear Sir: The Department of Labour has received intimations of alleged violations of the Alien Labour Act at various points along the border between Canada and the United States.

It is stated in particular that large numbers of Italians and other classes of labour are being imported under contract from United States to perform work in this country.

As you are doubtless aware, such importation, if made in violation of the terms of the Alien Labour Act, is illegal and persons illegally imported are liable to be deported should their illegal importation be proven.

The several acts relating to the prohibition and restriction of the importation of aliens have recently been consolidated by this department and I enclose herewith for your information several copies of this act.

This department will be pleased if you will aid in the effective enforcement of this act by bringing to the notice of parties the provisions of the law where you have reason to believe that there is a possibility of the same being infringed.

Yours truly,

W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Deputy Minister of Labour.

(Names and addresses of agents to whom the above letter was sent.)

Halifax, F. W. Annand, Dominion Immigration Agent.
St. John, N. B., B. Lantalum, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Quebec, P. Doyle, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Montreal, John Hoolahan, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Port Arthur, Ont., J. M. McGovern, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Port Arthur, Ont., R. A. Burriss, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Winnipeg, J. Obed Smith, Commissioner of Immigration.
Regina, Paul N. Bredt, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Calgary, C. W. Sutter, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Edmonton, Thos. Bennett, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Yorkton, J. S. Crerar, Dominion Immigration Agent.
Dauphin, F. K. Herchmer, Dominion Land Agent.
Dauphin, Jacob Wood, Caretaker Immigration Sheds.
Prince Albert, Jno. McTaggart, Dominion Land Agent.
Medicine Hat, L. B. Cochrane, Land Guide.
Lethbridge, Samuel Gray, Traveling Agent.
McLeod, Jos. Nixon, Land Guide.
New Westminster, Jno. McKenzie, Dominion Land Agent.
Kamloops, E. A. Nash, Dominion Land Agent.
Brandon, Man., C. W. Speers, General Colonization Agent.
Mattawa, A. Ribout, Immigration Agent.
Swan River, Hugh Harley, Land Guide.

(Copy of Canadian Alien Labor Act.)

CONSOLIDATION OF ACTS TO RESTRICT THE IMPORTATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS (1901).

His Majesty, by and with the advise and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. From and after the passing of this Act it shall be unlawful for any person, company, partnership or corporation, in any manner to prepay the transportation, or in any way to assist or encourage the importation or immigration of any alien or foreigner into Canada, under contract or agreement, parole or special, express or implied, made previous to the importation or immigration of such alien or foreigner, to perform labour or service of any kind in Canada. 60-61 Vict., chap. 11, 1897.

2. All contracts or agreements, express or implied, parole or special, hereafter made by and between any person, company, partnership or corporation, and any alien or foreigner, to perform labour or service, or having reference to the performance of labour or service by any person in Canada, previous to the immigration or importation of the person whose labour or service is contracted for into Canada, shall be void and of no effect. 60-61 Vict., chap 11, 1897.

3. For every violation of any of the provisions of section 1 of this Act, the person, partnership, company or corporation violating it by knowingly assisting, encouraging or soliciting the immigration or importation of any alien or foreigner into Canada to perform labour or service of any kind under contract or agreement, express or implied, parole or special, with such alien or foreigner, previous to his becoming a resident in or a citizen of Canada, shall forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, nor less than fifty dollars.

II. The sum so forfeited may, with written consent of any judge or the court in which the action is intended to be brought, be sued for and recovered as a debt by any person who first brings his action therefor in any court of competent jurisdiction in which debts of like amount are now recovered.

III. Such sum may also, with the written consent, to be obtained ex parte, of the Attorney General of the province in which the prosecution is had, or of a judge of a superior or county court, be recovered upon summary conviction before any judge of a county court (being a justice of the peace), or any judge of the sessions of the peace, recorder, police magistrate, or stipendiary magistrate, or any functionary, tribunal, or person invested, by the proper legislative authority, with power to do alone such acts as are usually required to be done by two or more justices of the peace, and acting within the local limits of his or its jurisdiction.

IV. The sum recovered shall be paid the Minister of Finance and Receiver General.

V. Separate proceedings may be instituted for each alien or foreigner who is a party to such contract or agreement. 60-61 Vict., chap. 11, 1897, repealed; Edw. VII, chap. 13, 1901.

4. The master of any vessel who knowingly brings into Canada on such vessel and lands or permits to be landed from any foreign port or place any alien, labourer, mechanic or artisan who, previous to embarkation on such vessel, had entered into contract or agreement, parole or special, express or implied, to perform labour or service in Canada, shall be deemed guilty of an indictable offence and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars for each alien, labourer, mechanic or artisan so brought or landed, and may also be imprisoned for a term not exceeding six months. 60-61 Vict., chap. 11, 1897.

5. Nothing in this Act shall be so construed as to prevent any citizen or subject of any foreign country, temporarily residing in Canada, either in private or official capacity, from engaging, under contract or otherwise, persons not residents or citizens of Canada, to act as private secretaries, servants or domestics for such foreigner temporarily residing in Canada; nor shall this Act be so construed as to prevent any person, partnership or corporation from engaging, under contract or agreement, skilled workmen in foreign countries to perform labour in Canada in or upon any new industry not at present established in Canada, provided that skilled labour for that purpose cannot be

otherwise obtained; nor shall the provisions of this Act apply to professional actors, artists, lecturers or singers, or to persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants: Provided, that nothing in this Act shall be construed as prohibiting any person from assisting any member of his family, or any relative, to migrate from any foreign country to Canada for the purpose of settlement here. 60-61 Vict., chap. 11, 1897, and amendment, 1 Edw. VII., chap 13, 1901.

6. The Attorney General of Canada, in case he shall be satisfied that an immigrant has been allowed to land in Canada contrary to the prohibition of this Act, may cause such immigrant, within the period of one year after landing or entry, to be taken into custody and returned to the country whence he came, at the expense of the owner of the importing vessel, or, if he entered from an adjoining country, at the expense of the person, partnership, company or corporation violating section 1 of this Act. 60-61 Vict., chap. 11, 1897, and amendment, 1 Edw. VII., chap. 13, 1901.

7. The Receiver General may pay to any informer who furnishes original information that the law has been violated such a share of the penalties recovered as he deems reasonable and just, not exceeding fifty per cent, where it appears that the recovery was had in consequence of the information thus furnished. 60-61 Vict., chap. 11, 1897.

8. It shall be deemed a violation of this Act for any person, partnership, company or corporation to assist or encourage the importation or immigration of any person who resides in, or is a citizen of, any foreign country to which this Act applies, by promise of employment through advertisements printed or published in such foreign country; and any such person coming to this country in consequence of such an advertisement shall be treated as coming under a contract as contemplated by this Act, and the penalties by this Act imposed shall be applicable in such case: Provided, that this section shall not apply to skilled labour not obtainable in Canada, as provided by section 5 of this Act. 1 Edw. VII., chap. 13, 1901.

9. This Act shall apply only to the importation or immigration of such persons as reside in, or are citizens of, such foreign countries as have enacted and retained in force, or as enact and retain in force, laws or ordinances applying to Canada, of a character similar to this Act. 60-61 Vict., chap. 11, 1897, and amendment, 1 Edw. VII., chap. 13, 1901.

11. Evidence of any such law or ordinance of a foreign country may be given,—

(a) by the production of a copy thereof purporting to be printed by the government printer or at the government printing office of such foreign country or contained in a volume of laws or ordinances of such country purporting to be so printed; or

(b) by the production of a copy thereof purporting to be certified to be true by some officer of state of such foreign country who also certifies that he is the custodian of the original of such law or ordinance, in which case no proof shall be required of the handwriting or official position of the person so certifying. 61 Vict., chap. 2, 1898.

10. Nothing in the said Act shall affect the exercise of the powers of the government of Canada or of any province in connection with the promotion of immigration. 1 Edw. VII., chap. 13, 1901.

PRESS COMMENTS RELATIVE TO ENFORCEMENT OF ALIEN LABOR ACTS.

The efforts of the trackmen's representatives to influence the government officials to enforce the laws of the Dominion met with much ridicule, as the following extract, taken from a letter to the Montreal Herald, of July 4th, will show:

"I see in the papers that Mr. Wilson, the paid American organizer, went to Ottawa yesterday to complain against the importation of Americans to fill the places of the striking trackmen.

"Mr. Wilson won't let the Canadians work on the C. P. R., even at higher wages than are paid by other railways; he won't help his own countrymen get better pay in their own land; and he protests against their coming here to earn more money than they are paid at home. Now, what does Mr. Wilson really want? To tie up our Canadian national road altogether and to let nobody work at all?

"If he is a working man, isn't he himself an alien laborer just now, and, if he is, wouldn't the law he wants enforced be first directed to deport himself? If he did that, isn't it remindful of the unfortunate engineer who was hoist with his own petard?

"If Mr. Wilson's ludicrous appeal to fire himself out of Canada is successful, who will complain on this glorious Fourth of July?"

On July 6th the same paper contained the following:

It is not easy to withhold sympathy with the cause of labor wherever it may be struggling against capital for rights that are either scantily recognized or contemptuously ignored; but in the case of the trackmen's strike on the Canadian Pacific Railway, the merits of the case weigh so heavily in favor of the company that it is the duty of the true friends of labor to dissuade workmen from prolongation of a hopeless struggle. The trackmen entered upon the conflict seriously handicapped by the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company pays higher wages than are paid on the other systems with which it is a competitor. Knowing that this was the case, the trackmen threw up their employment in the hope of coercing the company into granting still higher wages. Mr. Wilson, the president of the Brotherhood, admits these facts; but he says that the employes of the Grand Trunk and Intercolonial, who are paid lower wages than those of the Canadian Pacific, are not members of the organization of which he is the head, and the Brotherhood is not called upon to fight for those who are outside its ranks. The statement may be true, but it will not satisfy the public. It is against that strong elementary principle of British fair play, which is the usual standard of justice in cases of this kind, that the company which pays the highest wages should be compelled to pay still higher, before the others are brought up to its level. That is why Mr. Wilson has failed to gain public sympathy in this strike; why he has failed to get the support of kindred organizations, and why the Canadian Pacific are bound to win in the struggle. One of the most hopeless features in this strike is that the men have not even a case that can go to arbitration. They are fighting for a minimum wage of a dollar and a half a day—small enough remuneration, it is true—but the company pay a minimum of a dollar and a quarter while others are paying only one dollar and ten cents, and

surely Mr. Wilson has sufficient intelligence to realize that before he can logically ask the C. P. R. for more he must first get the railways who pay one dollar and ten cents for the same class of labor up to the dollar and a quarter standard. There is good reason for supposing that the Brotherhood in this instance chose as the target for assault the Canadian Pacific, because that system—in consequence of its length of mileage, stretching as it does from the Atlantic to the Pacific—is more vulnerable than other railways. The principle is neither fair nor just. The company, assured of public sympathy, have already practically won the fight. The men who still remain out will, if they are well advised, return to work.

The statement made in the foregoing article that the minimum wage was $1.25, is incorrect; the minimum wage paid is $1.15.

In strong contrast with the foregoing is the following editorial from the Inland Sentinel:

Without entering into the merits of the case against the special constables arrested near Ashcroft last week, charged with intimidating workmen, the fact that the company's officials are compelled to have recourse to such extreme measures in order to have necessary work done on the track is scarcely in accord with their oft reiterated declaration that they have no difficulty in obtaining men to fill the strikers' places. Even ten dollars a day and board failed to tempt more than a mere handful of men to go to work upon a mud slide east of this point. The truth of the matter is they find it almost impossible to get any one to accept work at any price. The reason is not hard to find and lies in the fact that the general public recognize the justice of the claims of the striking trackmen for a living wage, and are in hearty sympathy with the movement. In addition to this the men upon whose sympathies the company relied as a reserve force upon which they could fall back and use as a lever to compel the strikers to submit, know full well that they would not be advancing their own interests by taking up the work, and they object to being made the tools of the company, only to be cast aside when the struggle is over. Meanwhile the strikers stand firm and the condition of the track is daily becoming, according to our reports, more and more deplorable, and traveling more hazardous, facts that cannot but be potent factors in bringing the company to a sense of their responsibilities leading eventually to a satisfactory settlement of the dispute.

Here is another extract from the Inland Sentinel:

There are about 200 Galicians in Calgary and the officials cannot get them to work for ten dollars a day, although they have no money at all. The way they are sticking by the strikers is a great surprise to every one, especially to the company who were depending on them if the strike should come off.

The Calgary and Edmonton Railway has been tied up for more than a week; cannot move a train on it. There is a passenger train stuck about fifty miles north of Calgary and cannot get either way on account of bad track.

This unlooked for sympathy on the part of the Galicians, Japs, Indians, and Italians, upon whose services the company relied, has completely nonplussed the officials.

The arrest of special constables in the C. P. R.'s employ at Ashcroft has created a good deal of interest in the situation there. The case was adjourned

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at the request of the company's solicitor from Wednesday until tomorrow (Wednesday). A feature in connection with this case that has excited a good deal of comment is the giving of bail for the accused parties. It is considered doubtful whether bail would have been admitted at all had the boot been on the other foot and had the specials been intimidated by the strikers.

From the Ottawa Journal:

If anything more were wanted to demonstrate the indirect influence and the power wielded by a great corporation through the medium of the press, it is to be found in the sensational news spread broadcast to the world through press channels of the condition of the trackmen employed by the C. P. R. That any Trades Union men, especially in Toronto, have been caught by this report that the C. P. R. was paying a higher rate of wages and treating its men better than the other roads, and that they went back on the striking trackmen can only be taken with a plentiful admixture of salt, to make it at all digestible. I have not the least hesitation in saying just here to the news-reading public that this is a very glaring instance of the way news is cooked for the reading public by press association messages, when said news in any way refers to or concerns a great and powerful corporation such as the C. P. R. is known to be, and made so by a liberal supply of the people's money. This is easy to understand when one realizes that the C. P. R. practically owns and controls the telegraph system of the country, and through its many millionaires, fattened at the public crib, it has a controlling interest in many, if not the majority, of the leading newspapers of the country.

From the Winnipeg Voice:

A half dozen men started work in the Winnipeg yards this morning and caused quite an excitement for a time. The Galicians looked like attacking the beginners, but the trackmen prevented it, as it is not proposed to give any grounds for telegraphic reports of outrages here. They expect the men will quit as soon as they take in the situation.

On Wednesday last the people staying at the government immigration hall were turned out and locked out. They had been notified the day previous that there was plenty of work to be got, and so there was no need for them to be staying at the government hotel, and they had a day's notice to accept employment and quit, or to quit anyhow if they could not by then show a contract of acceptance of work. This action at the immigration hall immediately gave rise to the report that an attempt was being made to force the Galicians into the employ of the C. P. R. company in spite of their strong objections thereto.

At the same time, though, as a matter of fact, correspondence was going on between the company officials, the immigration commissioner, and Ottawa in which the company charge that immigration officials were advising men not to accept work on the C. P. R.

They are two very different stories. What are the facts?

The company officials seem in the first place to have got the notion that the immigration hall was an ever ready recruiting ground for labor to take the strikers' places. On one occasion last week the men were lined up and addressed by the officials. They were told of the strike and so the effort was a failure. On Saturday, using a Doukhobor as intermediary, a gang of twenty was procured and got aboard the train, but the whole bunch deserted at the

last moment and this had a very disquieting effect on the temper of the officials.

Later on the immigration people got an offer for one hundred men to work on the Rainy River road at $1.75, a higher figure than the C. P. R. were paying, and Mr. Hislop advised them to accept the work as they would have to leave the hall anyway. Mr. Connor of the C. P. Ry. charged them with advising the men not to work on the C. P. Ry. and an official complaint was afterwards lodged with the department to that effect.

The Immigration Commissioner says that the department is determined to be neutral, and were in a very ticklish position, as it looked as if they were harboring men so that they did not accept work with the company. The men would not accept work with the company, so messengers were sent around to the employment bureaus and it was ascertained that there was work elsewhere for all who would accept. Consequently, the men were told to get work somewhere, and the Rainy River offer was put before them, and the intimation given that the hall would be closed to them. This was afterwards carried out. Mr. Hislop only carried out these instructions.

This incident shows that the company are hard pressed to get men. Because the immigration people would not bundle the men into their service "neck and crop" they complain that men are being kept from them. Its proper course is to remain neutral. For we should hope that there would be a most emphatic protest if the immigration office is used to recruit scabs to the injury of the trackmen.

The railway company is making far more strenuous efforts than they care to acknowledge to procure men. In addition to the efforts made at Winnipeg, noted elsewhere, it is charged that they have attempted to break the law in respect to the importation of alien contract labor. In British Columbia it has been almost impossible to get a man to go to work and so numbers have been sent from Manitoba, and it appears that the adjoining states are being depended upon as per the following message, similar ones having also been sent to Mr. R. Smith, M. P.:

Revelstoke, B. C., June 20, 1901.

G. R. Maxwell, M. P., Vancouver, B. C.

Information received that Provincial Government are bringing scabs from Seattle, swearing them in as provincial police contrary to Alien Act. Kindly attend to it at once.

The following is from the pen of some embryo poet, evidently a C. P. Ry. official, and was typewritten and distributed all along the line:

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

From Uncle Sam's domain he came,
With plans all cut and dried,
To raise a strike of magnitude,
And bear his name with pride.

"Justice" he did not stop to think,
Or its meaning to define;
For if he had, he never would
Have crossed the boundary line.

He would have in his own free state,
Which claims a virgin soil,
Demanded same scale of wages paid
C. P. R. trackmen's toil.

I have wondered that so many
Would back a losing game;
With a little thought and study,
They could see it clear and plain.

Canadian press and people
Whom this question has impressed,
Cannot enlist their sympathy
With men that are paid best.

Then as good advice to Wilson
Who should really take his cue,
Retrace your steps across the line
And poorest paid give their due.

Then when the wages are leveled up,
I am sure you'll get a chance,
Your arguments will be stronger
Than they have been in advance.

CHAPTER VI.

MEN IN TRAIN SERVICE BECOME UNEASY.

About this time it was becoming generally known that the members of the other organizations composed of railway employes were becoming very much dissatisfied with the situation, owing to the strike of the trackmen making their occupations very hazardous.

The following resolution was passed at union meetings at several places on the C. P. Ry. system:

Resolved, that the conditions existing and brought about owing to the stopping of work by the employes of the maintenance-of-way department are calculated to endanger the personal safety of the employes of the train service, and is against the best interest of the company; therefore, be it resolved that we deplore the continuance of the strike and with the view to bring about a fair settlement, we, the Brotherhoods jointly assembled, are strongly in favor of conciliating through and by the general chairmen of the five organizations here represented, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each division or lodge on the C. P. Railway system, and that they be and are hereby requested to take such or similar action.

July 4 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

Another week of our struggle has passed. Although trains have been wrecked and traffic delayed, your committee has not received anything from the officials indicating that they would like to bring the contest to a close.

Reports received from various parts of the system inform us that the men are more determined than ever. They tell us to stand firm, that the company cannot starve us out, or compel us to kneel under the "lash of tyranny" by well-paid officials. Your committee has been informed, by what it considers a reliable source, that one of the officials stated it was the intention of the company to spend ten millions of dollars before they would allow the maintenance-of-way men to beat them.

Now, brothers, remember, these officers of the company are willing to expend more in a fight against us and in opposition to right and justice than it

MEMBERS JOINT PROTECTIVE BOARD, B. R. T. of A., FOR CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY SYSTEM.

J. W. JOHNSON,	CHAS. E. KING,	E. E. NASON	J. B. BRUNSKILL,	A. F. STOUT, Sec'y.
A. B. LOWE, V.-P.,	A. E. BAKER, Sol.,	J. T. WILSON, G. P.,	A. GIBB, Org.,	JOS. LENNON, Ch'n.

would cost to give us ALL we are asking for in twenty years, notwithstanding we helped to create and pile up the wealth they are now fighting, and intend to fight us with. They are opposing us with money that is ours by right. It takes MEN to operate railroads. Let us show them that we are men and cannot be deprived of our just rights even with the ten millions of dollars surplus, which they have laid away to fight us with, and which represents our sweat and toil for years.

Brothers, this is a struggle for liberty and justice. Remember, if we let them beat us this time we will be slaves during the remainder of our lives, and our children will become slaves for the children of the men who are now striving to crush us under the wheel of "organized greed." We must fight to the bitter end. We must gain a little something for ourselves, and more for our children. Let us continue the fight in a peaceful, honorable and manly way until victory is perched upon our banner. The struggle may be a hard one, but we can and must win; and in after years our children will rise up and bless our names and courage.

It seems that all of the railway officials of North America and some of the newspapers, have combined to aid the C. P. Railway officials in waging a soulless and heartless war against us, but, thank God! the sympathies of all fair-minded, honest citizens are with us. With their assistance, and the encouragement we are receiving from members of other labor organizations we expect to defeat those who are trying to deprive us of our just rights. Do not be swerved by mis-statements published in newspapers; some of them are trying to mislead and discourage the men engaged in this battle. The maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Railway are in this fight for themselves, and not for the president of our organization, as contended by some of our enemies.

Brothers, do not become discouraged on account of a few deserters returning to work. We have men enough on the C. P. R. to fight the battle to a finish and win, and we are going to do it.

It is stated that R. C. Montgomery, a man in whom the committee never had any confidence, has been appointed assistant roadmaster, and is "scabbing" on the section men in the vicinity of Ottawa. Your committee discovered that he was a traitor to your interests long before the strike was ordered. We had him watched one night, when he was seen to enter the St. James Hotel, where some of the officials of the company were stopping, and to engage in a consultation with them. Do not allow such things to discourage you. This is a struggle for justice, and it must be won by us in spite of all the money the C. P. R. officials have at their disposal, and in spite of the few cowards and "Judases" they can scare and bribe to pull against us.

In some instances the officials are attempting to frighten the men back to work by telling them if they do not return before a certain time they will be permanently discharged. Tell them we quit at the same time, and will return to work at the same time, or never. As the strike may be prolonged for a while longer we would advise those who are able to find employment outside to take it, as many of the brothers are doing now on different parts of the system, many of them receiving better wages than on the road. They may rest assured that when a settlement is reached they will be reinstated to their old stations.

Yours in B. L. & U.,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman,
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

The manager of the C. P. Ry. did not want the representatives of the other organizations on the C. P Ry. to come in contact with the maintenance-of-way men's representatives. He attempted to prevent it by arranging a meeting with the chairmen of the B. L. E., O. R. C. and B. R. T., at Winnipeg. What took place at said meeting may never come to light.

The following is a copy of the report sent out by the three chairmen to the members of the B. L. E., B. R. T., B. L. F., O. R. T. and O. R. C.:

Winnipeg, Man., July 19, 1901.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: The undersigned general chairmen hereby submit the following report for your consideration:

Owing to the strike of the maintenance-of-way men of the system and in compliance with letters and resolutions received from various points requesting us to offer our services as a conciliatory board, we, on the 4th of July, entered into communication with Mr. McNicoll, and after letters and telegrams had been exchanged on the subject, Mr. McNicoll came to Winnipeg and asked us for an interview.

On July 15th we met Mr. McNicoll and after he had explained the position of the company, and the offers he had made the maintenance-of-way men, he requested us to deny the reports that the strikers would receive the support of the other railway organizations, to which we replied that we could not comply with his request, as from the instructions which we had received we were required for the present to remain neutral.

Before the close of the negotiations we made the following proposition, viz.: That if the company would sign an agreement with the maintenance-of-way men and reinstate all strikers, we would recommend the committee to settle on the advances made by the company. This offer Mr. McNicoll declined.

Owing to the fact that Mr. Wilson and Mr. McNicoll both seem confident of winning in the present struggle without the assistance of the other organizations, we feel that we cannot do anything further at the present time.

CHAS. POPE, B. L. E.,
A. SHAW, O. R. C.,
A. W. JOHNS, B. R. T.

It will be observed that Chairmen Pope, Shaw and Johns, representing the engineers, conductors and trainmen, acted independently of the chairmen of the telegraphers and firemen. They also recommended a basis of settlement without consulting the maintenance-of-way men's representatives. Perhaps the hardest thing to explain is why the manager would not allow the maintenance-of-way men to surrender on the terms previously offered by himself, which would have been the case had they agreed to settle on the terms recommended by Pope, Shaw and Johns.

In commenting upon the report of the chairmen of the engineers, conductors and trainmen, the Inland Sentinel says:

The general chairmen of the Railroad Brotherhoods, who, in the capacity of

a conciliatory board, met Manager McNicoll at Winnipeg, with the object of bringing about a settlement of the strike, upon terms satisfactory to all parties concerned, have made public the result of their negotiations. As published in the Sentinel at the time, the result was refusal on the part of Manager McNicoll to consider the proposals of the conciliatory board. In view of the reports issued by the C. P. R. officials concerning the conduct of the strike, and also in regard to their willingness to deal fairly with the men, and especially in view of the company's statements regarding the wages paid the trackmen, it is very important that the facts in connection with the conciliation board's negotiations with Manager McNicoll should be generally known and properly understood.

In the first place it will be noted that the general chairmen, for some cause or other, did not carry out the exact instructions received by them from their respective Brotherhoods. Their instructions were that they should proceed to Montreal and there act as a conciliation board. This was quite a reasonable instruction as in Montreal are located the head offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and the central committee of the Trackmen's Brotherhood, the two parties to be conciliated. Instead of going to Montreal the chairmen communicated with Mr. McNicoll, intimating their willingness to act as a conciliation board. Mr. McNicoll put them off for two weeks and then put in an appearance at Winnipeg and requested the chairmen to meet him, not for the purpose of conciliation, but to persuade the chairmen to declare in favor of the company, something which the chairmen very properly declared to be entirely beyond their instructions.

But it will be seen that nothwithstanding the fact that the general chairmen, by their failure to adhere strictly to their instructions, had given Manager McNicoll an opportunity to steal a march on them, were desirous, even to the length of doing what they had no authority to do, of using their influence to terminate the strike, and so made Mr. McNicoll this proposition:

"That if the company would sign an agreement with the maintenance-of-way men and reinstate all strikers, we would recommend the committee to settle on the advances made by the company."

In other words, if Mr. McNicoll would recognize the trackmen's committee, the general chairmen of all the other Brotherhoods pledged themselves to bring about a settlement of the strike on the terms other than the recognition of the Union, put forward by Mr. McNicoll himself.

This offer Mr. McNicoll declined.

Why?

There can only be one answer.

Mr. McNicoll preferred to go back on his own offer, rather than recognize the Trackmen's Union. He disclosed clearly that it was not the question of wages that the company considered, but the attempt of the trackmen to organize themselves into a Union for mutual protection. Again the question arises, Why should the company resist so strongly the attempt of the trackmen to organize a Union, when they recognize the Unions organized by their employes in other departments?

The answer that the facts justify, is that Manager McNicoll is not fighting simply a Canadian Pacific Railway battle, but that he is carrying out an agreement entered into by him as general manager of the C. P. R. with the

General Managers' Association to resist to the utmost limit the successful organization of the trackmen on the company's system.

That the answer is fully warranted by the facts must now be apparent to every one who has followed at all closely the conduct of the company from the outset of the strike.

It is timely at this juncture to review some of the facts that go to establish the conclusion that American railway managers are taking a hand in the strike.

In the first place it is well known that in April last, when the grievance committee of the trackmen first approached the company for redress of their grievances, they were put off first on one excuse and then on another. Meanwhile high officials of the company were sent across to the United States to examine into conditions there and to confer with managers of the big American railroad systems. Officials of the company conferred with the General Managers' Association, and, as has since leaked out, secured the promise of financial assistance in any fight the Canadian Pacific Railway company might wage with organized labor. The probability of a strike of the trackmen was discussed at this conference and Manager McNicoll was urged to decline to recognize a trackmen's union in any shape or form, and was promised, if he maintained this attitude, the hearty co-operation of the American railway companies.

In due course the trackmen's grievance committee was turned down by Manager McNicoll; their President, Mr. Wilson, was treated in like manner, and then the strike was declared. There have been strikes on the C. P. R. before, but never one conducted as this one! American methods have been adopted. The arming of special railway constables, not to protect company property, but to coerce "scabs," is essentially an American method of fighting strikers. The flying "scab train" is another American innovation. In many other ways it has been made abundantly evident that in the conduct of this strike American influences have been at work. However, this fact is made most apparent by Manager McNicoll's refusal to accept the offer made by the general chairmen of the Brotherhoods. He had an opportunity to settle on his own terms and in accepting the offer made him he would have secured the support of all the Brotherhoods concerned who would have been bound by the decision of their general chairmen. The strike would certainly have terminated in short order, the vast expense now being incurred uselessly by the company would have ceased and traffic would very quickly have resumed normal conditions. All these advantages were thrown away by Mr. McNicoll rather than recognize the trackmen's committee. There must be something back of Mr. McNicoll's stand other than he has so far disclosed, for the C. P. R. company have never persisted for any length of time in refusing recognition to a Union formed by their employes. That something is the General Managers' Association, with whom Mr. McNicoll agreed to fight the Trackmen's Union to a finish. * * * *

July 8 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

Three weeks have passed since you suspended work. Being practical trackmen you understand that in most localities where track is in fair condition trains can be run over it at a fair rate of speed, without very great risk, for that length of time, but the faithful work done by you while your com-

mittee was trying to secure a fair settlement, is beginning to give way. The company's fast trains have been abandoned; their through passenger trains are from five to twenty hours late every day, and things are becoming more interesting for the officials generally.

Although the company has made desperate efforts, by their seductive methods, to influence you to degrade and defeat yourselves by returning to work, without having the wrongs you struck against redressed, they have been unsuccessful, except in very few cases, in causing any of the members of the order to prostitute their manhood.

Our position is stronger to day than it ever has been. Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the newspapers have been publishing to the world daily "The strike has fizzled out," the boys are standing firm, and are advising your committee daily that they will remain out six months if necessary, and will not return to work unless the officials make a fair settlement, and concede to us the same recognition they have accorded to all other classes of its employes.

According to reports the company has not been able to secure any one to take our places on at least four-fifths of the system, although they have been offering from $2.00 a day to $1.00 per hour for men to perform the work we have been doing. The few they have employed are either inexperienced men, or men who have been blacklisted on account of incompetency, drunkenness, dishonesty, or other offences, and the work done by them will not enable the company to run trains very long. They are running hand cars up and down the road, thinking it will discourage the men who have suspended work, and cause them to return.

We are advised by a great many men that they are at work receiving from $1.50 to $2.50 per day, and while, we believe, the officials will realize the folly of prolonging the contest, and that a settlement will be reached in a few days, we will advise those who are not able to live without working, to secure employment elsewhere, wherever it is possible for them to do so, until a fair settlement is made. Our Brotherhood has expended a great deal more money in the interests of the C. P. R. maintenance-of-way men, than we have contributed for the support of the organization. Our president expresses a willingness to continue the fight indefinitely, if the men will continue to prove themselves worthy of the assistance.

At one or two places, especially on the branch lines north and west of Toronto, some of the men have been deceived and persuaded to return to work, by officials making false representations, and telling them that about all of the men on other parts of the system had deserted your committee. Do not be influenced by men who must be considered our enemies in this contest. If you allow yourselves to be duped, and made fools of by them, they will not have any respect for you, and members of other industrial organizations will not consider us worthy of their sympathy, and the public generally will conclude that the C. P. R. officials were justified in taking the position that maintenance-of-way men were too ignorant and cowardly to be dealt with like other classes of the world's workers.

We feel that things are coming our way. In some localities we are informed that trainmen have refused to run trains at night, and instead of their declaring themselves in sympathy with the company, as stated in various newspapers, we have received copies of resolutions passed at their Union meetings,

to the effect that chairmen of their joint protective boards be instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to protect their lives, and the lives of the traveling public.

We have also been informed that a committee is being formed of members of all of the organizations composed of railway employes for the purpose of making an effort to secure a fair settlement between the company and its maintenance-of-way men.

Should any one return to work before a settlement is reached they will encourage the officials to prolong the struggle, therefore take courage, STAND FIRM, and show by your actions that you are as capable of doing your duty as Union men, as any other class of the world's workers.

The Deputy Minister of Labor at Ottawa has notified all immigrant agents at points of entry to see to it that the Alien Labor Law is not violated. If your government officials do not do their duty, and protect you against cheap laborers of other nations, call on your local officials to enforce the law, as they have been doing at some places in the West.

Information to hand informing us the chairmen of the joint protective boards of the other orders are on their way to Montreal, and will endeavor to bring about a speedy and fair settlement. Stay out until you receive instruction to resume work, above the written signature of your chairman and bearing the impression of the Grand Division Seal of the B. R. T. of A.

Yours in B. L. & U.,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

July 13 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

This is the twenty-seventh day since the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway suspended work.

I regretted very much being compelled, in the faithful performance of my official duties, to sanction an order to suspend work. Every means at our command was exhausted in an honorable way to secure a fair settlement with the company. Your committee were practically ignored, and the head of your organization proposed to the president of the C. P. Railway company, to assist in effecting an amicable adjustment of the men's differences, but was ignored altogether.

We have endeavored to prosecute the strike in an honorable way; our opponents have resorted to all means known to the human mind—fair and foul—to defeat you in your manly efforts to obtain anything like a fair share of the wealth you are helping to create, and your God-given right to say a word about the terms and conditions of your employment.

It seems that the majority of the large newspapers have been subsidized by your opponents in this contest. Several columns are devoted to C. P. R. despatches making statements that cannot be verified by facts. They have sought to deceive the public, and to make all good people believe that they are doing justice to their maintenance-of-way men, because they are not robbing them of as much of the wealth they create as some of the other corporations in the country are taking from theirs.

Advices to your committee show that the company has been offering men ten dollars a day and board in some localities to take your places. They hire

a great many inexperienced men who refuse to do your work when informed that you are carrying on an industrial war in favor of your just rights.

I called upon two Italians in Montreal who had been furnishing men to the C. P. R., explained the situation to them, and requested them not to aid a giant corporation in their efforts to oppress and degrade the poor laboring men of the country. They said the men employed through their agencies by the C. P. R. were not hired to take the places of the strikers, in fact, it was distinctly understood that they would not take the places of the strikers. They were to work for $1.25 per day, including board and lodging, that is to say, the C. P. R. company will pay inexperienced Italians $1.25 per day, including board and lodgings (equivalent to $1.75 per day), but they refuse to pay citizens, wealth producers and tax-payers, $1.50 per day.

The officials are bending every energy trying to induce men who have rebelled against oppression to surrender and submit to unjust treatment.

Information has been received from what I consider a reliable source that the company has offered men (members of our organization) one hundred dollars per month (more than twice as much as they have been receiving) to resume work and we are informed that a few men have yielded to temptation and are going over the road criticising your committee and trying to influence the men to return to work without having their grievances adjusted. BEWARE OF BRIBE-GIVERS AND BRIBE-TAKERS. Stand firm. Be men worthy of the name, and you will win in this contest in spite of all the wealth and cunning the C. P. R. has at its command.

A great deal has been said about members of other orders composed of railway employes demanding that the C. P. R. make a fair settlement with its maintenance-of-way men. I do not know whether the toilers in other departments will aid you in your struggle for justice or not, but have been advised that the following resolution has been passed at Union meetings at various places on the system:

Resolved, that the conditions existing and brought about owing to the stopping of work by the employes of the maintenance-of-way department are calculated to endanger the personal safety of the employes of the train service and is against the best interest of the company.

Therefore, be it resolved that we deplore the continuance of the strike, and with a view to bringing about a fair settlement, we, the Brotherhoods jointly assembled, are strongly in favor of conciliating through and by the general chairmen of the five organizations here represented and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each division or lodge on the C. P. Ry. system, and that they be and are hereby requested to take such or similar action. Signed on behalf of the Orders.

We were informed that a delegation representing members of the other orders left Winnipeg on the 6th inst.

A correspondent near Winnipeg states:—

I have been told that Mr. Pope, chairman of the engineers' joint protective board on the C. P. R., wrote to Mr. McNicoll some time ago about the strike, and it is stated that Mr. McNicoll wrote back to him if the engineers would come to Montreal, and inform the trackmen that they could not assist them, they would do the company a favor.

I have before me a letter written to a grand officer of one of the Orders of railway employes, by the chairman of their joint protective boards, which reads in part as follows:

"In accordance with your instructions of recent date, I have communicated with the different members of the joint protective boards, and the result of my appeal is this: They are all in favor of meeting in Montreal as a conciliation committee, with the exception of Mr. Charles Pope, general chairman of the B. of L. E., who does not agree with our views."

The sentiments expressed may conform to Mr. Pope's ideas; but engineers, with few exceptions, as well as members of all other orders, are in sympathy with the maintenance-of-way men, who have been preserving their lives by keeping the track in safe running order for many years.

Should the locomotive engineers or men employed in any other department ally themselves on the side of the company, and advise you through the press to discontinue your struggle for fair treatment, as was done by an engineer and conductor on the Maine Central Railway, treat them as your enemies. Do not heed the seductive persuasions of well paid officials who are trying to influence you to prostitute your manhood. For many years our craft have been like mud-turtles in a pond, rooting in the mud, scratching up worms for the game fish to feast upon.

We have reasons to believe that the officials are not only sending out incorrect reports about the men returning to work at various places through the newspapers, but that they are sending bogus messages over the wires, pretending that they were sent by men notifying the company they were going to return to work. One of their lackeys wrote me some time ago saying if the Order did not pay him for staying out, he would return to work. We advised him that the men engaged in the contest are fighting their battles and his too, and that if they could not win without resorting to bribery and deceit, and upholding men who seemed to be devoid of character, we would prefer to lose. Copies of the letter have been printed and distributed all over the road by men who are trying to plan your downfall, thinking it will prejudice all men not members of the B. R. T. of A. against you.

Victories cannot be won without sacrifices. Yours is a just cause. If you will stand firm, and do everything in your power that is honorable and reasonable, and not be influenced by the advice of any one, except your committee, or men whom you know to be your friends and that will aid you in a manly effort to secure more of the necessaries of life for your work, victory will crown your efforts.

Your cause is a just one. Do right. Show by your actions that you are men of determination, stability, and character, and the good people of this country will aid you in your struggle against oppression.

Yours in B. L. & U.,

JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

Copies of the above circular letter, with the following letter enclosed, were sent to the managing editors of the leading newspapers in Canada:

Dear Mr. Editor: You will find enclosed a copy of a circular letter mailed to all members of the International Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen on the Canadian Pacific Railway system, explaining the true situation of the strike.

I would be pleased if you will publish it in its entirety in the columns of your paper.

The maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Railway, and their representatives, have worked earnestly to effect a peaceable settlement with the C. P. R. officials. We have kept a complete record of the negotiations between the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men, and the company's officials, and when the history of the strike is written and published, I believe all fair-

minded, liberty-loving citizens who read it, will hold the maintenance-of-way men and their representatives blameless.

I have always been a hardworking man and believe myself to be conservative and consistent, and in attempting to aid maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Railway in an effort to bring about better conditions for themselves and families, without regard to the miserable conditions surrounding the same class of men on other roads in Canada or the United States, I feel that I am doing my plain duty to my God and my fellow-man. Yours truly,

JOHN T. WILSON, Pres. B. R. T. of A.

Mr. D. Campbell, third vice-president of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, called at the Grand Union Hotel several times during the progress of the strike, and becoming familiar with each phase of the situation, gave his views in the following letter, a copy of which he mailed to the general chairmen of the O. R. T., B. R. T., O. R. C., B. L. E. and B. L. F.

Office of the Third Vice-President, O. R. T.,
Drayton, Ont., July 15, 1901.

Gentlemen and Brothers: Kindly allow me to address to you a few lines in regard to the long-drawn-out struggle existing between the maintenance-of-way employes and officials of the Canadian Pacific company. Having watched the actions of the committee that have had charge of the negotiations, I feel justified in saying that I believe their affairs have been well managed, and that they are not responsible for the present state of affairs. It also appears to me that they are not fighting the C. P. R. alone, but the General Managers' Association, which makes it a very unfair fight.

Would it not be possible, and quite the best thing to do, for the general chairmen to form themselves into a joint committee to act as a board of conciliation, and wait on the management and endeavor to settle the dispute?

I do not understand how such action could in any way conflict with your obligation to the company, or in any way weaken your own prestige, or that of organized labor in general, while on the other hand, it might be well to consider what might be the result of a defeat to the maintenance-of-way men. Would it not be inviting the company to show some other organization the same opposition?

Several years ago the O. R. T. received just such help as this, and I am not aware that it injured any other orders, while it was a great assistance to us, and we are now in a position to return help to others if called upon. The section men have put up a good fight, and God knows their grievances are well founded.

Will be glad to hear from you in regard to this matter.

Yours fraternally, D. CAMPBELL.

Notice to the public issued July 17:

On account of so many erroneous statements being published from time to time concerning the trackmen's strike on the Canadian Pacific Railway it seems a great many people do not understand the true situation.

The strike was ordered by the maintenance-of-way men themselves. They sent their committee to Montreal with the understanding that if the officials

declined to enter into an agreement with them, setting forth the terms and conditions of their employment, the committee were to notify the men with the understanding that a suspension of work would take place.

The C. P. R. company have entered into agreements setting forth the terms and conditions of employment with committees representing other classes of its employes. If it is wrong for them to enter into an agreement with a committee representing their maintenance-of-way men, they did wrong in signing agreements with the other committees.

I am called an "interloper." My position is that of president of an international organization; the members of the organization are my employers. I came to Canada in obedience to their orders. The officers of an international organization have as much right to administer the affairs of the organization as the officials of the C. P. Ry. company have to administer the affairs of a road running through Canada, and into the States. If I have been correctly informed, neither the president nor the general manager of the C. P. Ry. company were born in Canada. All men should be honest, truthful and fair in their dealings with their fellowmen without regard to the place of their birth.

The charge has also been made that I came to Canada and precipitated the strike in the interests of transportation companies across the line. I will answer the charge by quoting an extract from a letter written by me to the president of the C. P. Ry. company, on the 14th of June, notifying him that a suspension of work would take place on the morning of June 17th, on the C. P. Ry.:

> Although you did not consider my communication of yesterday of any significance, I feel constrained to advise you that an industrial upheaval of no small magnitude is liable to take place during the next few days, unless men of your station and influence make efforts along practical lines to avert it. There is a strong suspicion in the minds of men who are conducting the affairs of industrial organizations that the members of the Railway Managers' Association have entered into an agreement to make war on industrial organizations—more especially those composed of railway employes. Mr. Evans (according to a committee representing members of our organization on his system) informed them of all that took place between your general manager and our grievance committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on your system during the month of April. He told them what your general manager's policy would be, which has been verified by his actions. * * * I do not claim perfection for Trades Unions: they are human institutions and their officers and members often make mistakes, but they have been formed for the purpose of coping with organized greed and for the mutual welfare of participants while, in my judgment, the General Managers' Association has been formed for the purpose of oppressing the oppressed. I am leaving for Portland, Maine, at 8 o'clock this p. m., * * * * and will return to Montreal on June 17th. I will do everything in my power that seems to me to be reasonable and right to bring about a proper settlement on your road as soon as possible. Your maintenance-of-way men are well organized and very determined. I maintain that the public have rights in these matters that should be considered; and am anxious to co-operate with those who desire to prevent industrial disturbances and to keep the wheels of industry moving. When the purchasing power of a wage-earner's dollar is decreased so that it will take 100 cents to purchase what 80 cents would purchase two years ago, the workingman must have a corresponding increase in his wages, or adjust himself to a lower standard of living—one of the two.

I maintain that the public are entitled to safe, speedy and unmolested transportation from the corporations holding public franchises without regard to their petty differences with their employes, and should protect themselves against inconvenience on account of such disturbances, and if employer and employe cannot, or will not adjust their differences, a commission appointed by the people and for the people should determine what is right and proper in

the way of a settlement, and have the two parties to the controversy submit to the decision of the commission so appointed.

A great many misstatements have been made and published in the various newspapers of the country which were calculated to mislead the public. The day after the strike was inaugurated (June 18th) according to Montreal newspapers, the general manager stated that about all of the men had returned to work, and that the "strike had fizzled out," etc.

In a despatch from Winnipeg on the 16th of July, according to the Montreal Daily Witness, the general manager of the C. P. R. states: "It seems a strange thing that a whole body of men can be kept from their work and the wherewithal to buy their daily bread by a parcel of men forming a committee."

According to reports received by the Montreal committee very few men have returned to work, and wrecks have occurred at various places along the line from St. John to Vancouver on account of track not being looked after by competent men. The public are advised through the press that the track is being patrolled regularly and kept in safe running condition. I have been informed from a source which I consider reliable, that one of the general superintendents secured passes for his wife and children, from the Canada Atlantic Railway Co., from Ottawa to Montreal, on 13th inst., instead of sending them over the C. P. R.

The committee has received reports to the effect that C. P. R. detectives have been arrested and locked up for attempting, at the point of revolvers, to compel men to work against their will.

Yesterday a report was received that a C. P. R. detective had killed an Italian workman for refusing to go to work. I wired Port Arthur regarding the matter, as follows: "Did C. P. R. detective kill Italian workman for refusing to work? Report particulars by wire." The following message was received in reply: "C. P. detective wounded Italian laborer at Heron Bay for refusing to go any further on the train to work. Will write particulars."

The time to be truthful is all the time; the place to do right is everywhere, and the people to be dealt fairly with are all the people. Men were not made to serve dollars; dollars were made for the use of men. Proprietors of newspapers believing that civilized methods should be adopted for the settlement of differences between employer and employe, and those who believe in putting "British fair play" into practical operation, are requested to publish this statement.

JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

CHAPTER VII.

CHARLES POPE.

Charles Pope, chairman of the engineers on the C. P. Ry. system, took exception to the reference made to his actions in a letter issued on the 13th of July by the president of the B. R. T. of A., as is shown by the following letter:

Winnipeg, Man., July 19, 1901.

Mr. John T. Wilson, President B. R. T. of A.

Dear Sir: I see by the published report of your general circular of 13th inst., that you credit me with being opposed to the plan of conciliation by the

general chairman of the five organizations, or at least your circular is so worded as to convey that impression to the members of your Order and the general public.

Allow me to say that I have always been in favor of the plan of conciliation proposed by the members of my own and the other organizations, and in co-operation with Mr. A. Shaw of the O. R. C., and Mr. Johns of the B. R. T. I have spent a week in this city endeavoring to induce Mr. McNicoll to accept the services of the proposed conciliatory board.

The only difference of opinion between myself and the other general chairmen was on a pure matter of detail, the other gentlemen wishing to proceed to Montreal forthwith, while I wished to obtain the consent of Mr. McNicoll and yourself for the proposed committee to act, before going to the expense of convening the same.

I hope it will not be asking too much if I request you to set this matter right in your next general circular. Yours truly,

CHAS. POPE, B. of L. E. General Chairman C. P. R. System.

P. S.—Please reply to me at Rat Portage, Ont.

In reply to the above the following letter was sent to Mr. Pope:

Montreal, July 24, 1901.

Mr. Charles Pope, General Chairman, B. L. E., C. P. R. System.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 19th inst. has been received and contents duly noted.

The sentiments expressed in your letter seem to be a verification of the position taken by you which was outlined in a circular letter issued by me under date of July 13th, 1901.

I cannot think of any valid reason why you should consult Mr. McNicoll, myself, or any one else, to find out whether or not you should carry out instructions from the members of your organization. Mr. McNicoll is only one individual. The present conflict between the C. P. Railway company and its maintenance-of-way men is affecting at least twenty thousand men, women and children, whose support depends upon the wages received by those employed in the maintenance-of-way department. The lives of several thousands of employes engaged in operating trains are being jeopardized, and the interests of several hundreds of thousands of an innocent public are being impaired.

The struggle between the maintenance-of-way men and the C. P. R. officials has been going on for more than five weeks. With few exceptions, the men are as determined to secure a fair settlement before returning to work as they were when they suspended work. If you desire to dignify labor, and to show the public generally that industrial organizations are useful institutions and stand for advancement, a higher standard of citizenship, and progress, I think you should co-operate with the chairmen of other joint protective boards in a practical and consistent way, to bring the parties to the controversy together, and, if possible, effect a fair settlement.

Mr. McNicoll's actions in this struggle indicate that he is far from being a practical railroad man. It seems, he imagines railroads grow, and that it does not require men of experience to keep them in safe running order. A fair settlement of the maintenance-of-way men's differences would relieve him, benefit the stockholders, relieve the members of our organization and their

families, insure the safety of your own life, and the life of every man engaged in the train service, and prove a blessing to the public generally.

I cannot understand why a man in your position, if he had the interests of toilers and wealth-producers at heart, should quibble and delay taking action, more especially as you have received requests from so many of your own co-workers.

We have on file copies of resolutions passed at meetings of men engaged in operating trains in which they state their occupations are too precarious to follow under existing circumstances. Anything you can and will do, to aid our committee in bringing about a fair settlement with the C. P. R. company will be appreciated. Yours fraternally,

JOHN T. WILSON, Pres. B. R. T. of A.

By this time Mr. Pope, it seems, imagined that the time had come to make himself famous, and in order to gain notoriety he rushed into print, and, with the aid of the C. P. Ry. officials, succeeded in having the following inspiring (!) document published in all the leading newspapers of the Dominion:

Sir: I noticed in the published account of President Wilson's circular, July 13th, to the striking maintenance-of-way men that, owing to a misapprehension of the facts, he conveys to them the impression that I was not in favor of the proposed plan of conciliation by the general chairmen of the five railway organizations.

I wish to correct this wrong impression and to say that I have always favored the proposed plan of conciliation which was suggested to me by a large number of the engineers by letters and resolutions of joint meetings.

The only difference of opinion between the other general chairmen and myself was as to the best mode of procedure in carrying out the expressed wish of our members, the other chairmen in the west wishing to go to Montreal forthwith to offer their services, while I thought it was best to obtain the consent of the vice-president of the C. P. R. and President Wilson, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America, for the proposed committee to act, before putting the several general chairmen to the expense of convening in Montreal; thus you will see that my reason for not going to Montreal at once was a pure matter of detail, but as President Wilson was not aware of this fact, he naturally concluded I did not wish to act.

The fact that I have spent a week in this city with Mr. A. Shaw, of the Order of Railway Conductors, and Mr. A. Johns, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, in an endeavor to obtain permission for the proposed board of conciliation and mediation to act, should be conclusive proof of what my views are in regard to the proposition of concilation.

I regret that it has become necessary for me to refer to certain disagreeable features which have developed in one or two districts where the present struggle is going on between the Canadian Pacific Railway and its striking maintenance-of-way men, but as some of our engineers, in the faithful discharge of duty have been brought into the very jaws of death by the recent attempts to wreck trains, I feel that it is my duty to point out to the striking trackmen the dangerous position into which their organization is being forced by the criminal acts of what I believe to be misguided sympathizers with their cause; the engineers have through myself been doing all that could be done to bring

about an amicable settlement of the present trouble, but how can they expect us to continue our good offices if they allow our men to be run into death traps set by evil disposed persons right under their very eyes.

In contests which have taken place in the past between railway companies and the older organizations, the strikers have sometimes pursued tactics of various kinds which were calculated to hinder the movement of trains, and cause annoyance and sometimes loss to the railways, these things have been looked upon by many of the public with more or less indifference as they are generally expected and regarded as the natural features or incidents accompanying a railway strike. The most radical and violent elements of the older organizations have, however, always drawn back appalled at the mere suggestion of any act which would in any manner jeopardize the lives of either their fellow employes or the traveling public, and realizing that the honor and welfare of their organizations were at stake, they have not been satisfied with holding themselves aloof from any act liable to cause injury or loss of life, but have been prompt and energetic in handing over the train wreckers and all of their ilk to be dealt with by the strong arm of the law.

I should be sorry to believe that men whom we have worked beside for years, could, without our giving them any cause for offence, so deliberately plot against our lives, for the sake of mere pecuniary gain; but it is clearly apparent that there are sympathizers with their cause who should be considered in all communities as the worst and most dangerous of the criminal classes and who should be looked upon by every upright and law-abiding citizen as a common enemy; and while we feel that the maintenance-of-way men's hands are clean as to the actual acts of criminal nature, yet they should bear in mind the fact that in the present case their responsibility and duty to both their organization and the public by no means ends with holding themselves aloof from such acts as trainwrecking.

They must remember that their fellow-employes and the public are of the opinion that they can exert a powerful influence over the acts of those sympathizers of evil intent, and we are looking to the maintenance-of-way men to exert that influence in a practical and vigorous manner. Otherwise the responsibility of the train wreckers' acts will lie at the door of the strikers.

In closing, I wish to say to the trackmen that the reputation of their organization is at stake and if they do not wish to go on record as giving countenance to acts of violence which will ere long arouse the indignation of every honorable law-abiding workingman in the community, it is time that they put forth every effort to bring the train wrecker to justice.

On some parts of the system I am informed that the strikers, being alive to the necessity of protecting their own interests and the reputation of their organization, have constituted themselves a guard to foil the attempts of train wreckers and those who would bring upon them the condemnation of the community.

This is a wise step, and one which has often been taken by the older organizations in times of trouble, as they realize that no organization which has to bear the ignominy of such acts can very long sustain life in any well ordered law-abiding community.

The older railway organizations and the public will not be satisfied with a denial of all knowledge of who have committed these acts, by the maintenance-of-way men in the districts where attempts to wreck trains have oc-

curred; what we expect from them is immediate and definite action and practical results in exposing the guilty.

(Signed) CHAS. POPE,
General Chairman C. P. R. System Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
Winnipeg, July 22, 1901.

The trackmen's representatives refused to discuss the above article. The tenor of the letter showed clearly that the writer had no interest in the welfare of the trackmen. However, one of their sympathizers answered the challenge, as follows:

POPE CHARLES' ENCYCLICAL.

A Railroader Deals With the Open Letter of the Chairman.

The following letter originally appeared in the Vancouver World, but the writer requests insertion in The Voice. The open letter that Mr. Pope addressed to the press in July, while generally condemned all over, has met with particular denunciation in the west, and we think rightly so. The railway company had it printed as a circular and widely distributed, and its production by officials to back up some of their specious stories has been extremely galling to the men:

To the Editor of The Voice:

Sir: At Winnipeg, in the province of Manitoba, and on the 22nd day of July last, there was issued from under the aegis of the fallible Pope Charles, who by the grace of the brethren, rules over the temporal and, evidently in his opinion, spiritual destinies of the employes of the C. P. R., an encyclical addressed to the world at large. Charles sits on a throne stuffed with wool waste. He is surpliced in blue cotton duck, such as our Chinamen on the Pacific coast use! his ample brow is crowned with a tiara made out of an old paper bag. Thus sits Charles Pope on his woolsack prepared to throttle the demands of his subordinates. He is always ready to open the release-valves or blow-off cock in order to release himself. And when that blow-off cock is blowing and fussing and vaporing no voice can be heard above the terrible din, but the sonorous growl or stentorian notes of Charles Pope. From this throne he issues his edicts and fists, but never a prayer except when he imagines he sees a bogie on the road.

In his encyclical above referred to he counsels his recalcitrant followers to be careful in moving along the crooked highway. He adjures them to abstain from forcing him to act in the present critical emergency, because he "holds a difference of opinion as to the mode of procedure." And to deprive him of that sweet morsel would be a terrible shock to his nervous system, which might necessitate the use of an injector. To the infidel trackman he administers a stern rebuke for his departure from, what he considers, the path of moral rectitude in presuming to ask for bread commensurate to his bodily requirements! He designates this poor employe as a "wrecker of trains" and a "plotter" against the lives of honest men. In order to give force and piquancy to his denunciatory declamation he draws out his elastic imagination to the fullest possible extent—another stretch like this one, I fear, will make it snap and break to the permanent hurt and injury of its owner. From his throne, perched on infernal mechanism, he casts a wistful glance over the buffer beam

along the highway of life; he beholds wrecks being consumed in fiery abysses; men digging pits of destruction for the faithful to fall into; rails torn up and twisted out of shape by the grinning spectre of the starved trackmen; he beholds destruction and deviltry running riot, arm in arm, along our national highway; he sees his brethren plunging headlong "into the very jaws of death." All this is a perfect realization in the calm and collected mind of Charles Pope, who, by some supernatural power, is able to run a train every day in the week over and through these terrible scenes of anarchy and destruction in perfect safety! Charles Pope is no common mortal! "Whence and what art thou?" Aye, he is mortal, for do you not see him wipe his forehead with cotton waste, the property of his employer, which he does not scruple to use instead of a square of turkey red cotton at ten cents each. That's Charles Pope, huge and portentious in size, who accuses the poor, ill-fed, ill-clothed, because ill-paid, trackmen, of the most diabolical deeds.

The men he endeavors to besmirch would not stoop even to harbor the thoughts of evil Charles Pope alone is capable of conceiving! The foul deeds he attributes to the trackmen have no foundation outside his own imagination. Assertions are not facts, Mr. Pope. I venture even to assert that Mr. Pope cannot prove his assertion and bring his charge home to the trackmen.

The writer of this letter has no desire to try and disabuse the mind of Charles Pope, general chairman of the E. S. from the "notions" he entertains. I am too well aware that in this case it is beyond human power. The man who harbors "notions" is the most obdurate of mortals. Therefore it is my present aim to deny in toto the vile charges enunciated by Charles Pope against my fellow workmen.

That some of the trackmen have been indiscreet in their conduct cannot be denied, but crimes of the nature charged have yet to be proved outside of Pope's brain, and I feel sure that in the face of existing circumstances the exemplary conduct of the men, the vile charges will be repelled with the contempt they and their author so thoroughly deserve. Instead of doing malicious injury to the company the strikers have in many cases rendered assistance to the company for humanity's sake. The trackmen are well satisfied with their position and they are proud of it; they do not deny having had a few "black sheep" and "Judases" among them, but these have either been weeded out or "captured" by the enemy. Where is the flock that has no black sheep or weak-kneed ewe? Mr. Pope can readily remember, if he is not wilfully forgetful, that there were a few blacks among his own fraternity in days gone by and Mr. Pope in the goodness of his heart may have visited Stoney Mountain to see "an old chum" perched on a pile of stones perforce the arm of the law for his own and country's good. You know why he sat there, Mr. Pope, but you did not in the flow of inspiration which prompted you to issue your encyclical consider at heart this knowledge.

The trackmen have today some of their very best and staunchest friends among the engineers who desire a speedy settlement of the difficulty, and this would be effected if Mr. Pope did not entertain a difference of opinion between himself and them. This "difference of opinion" is the obstacle in the way. And you, Mr. Pope, are willing, for the mere sake of gaining a petty point, to allow some of your brothers to go into "the very jaws of death!" Oh, consistency! Mr. Pope, are you a stranger to this virtue?

Mr. Pope avers that the trackmen have deliberately plotted against his

own and brother engineers' lives. A fouler or baser charge could not be conceived. We deplore the allegation for the sake of those he represents, and we feel sure his letter has not the approval of the general body of engineers. It it not necessary for the trackmen to have recourse to "criminal acts for pecuniary gains," the very simple process of turning "scab" or worse still, "scab in disguise" would bring fish to the net. The strikers have not perpetrated acts of violence, such as is charged against them. The public know that there is a small wire stretching across the continent that could be easily severed at many vulnerable points to the utter discomfiture of the company. Even that has been left untouched. Every trackman is absolutely and strictly required to conduct himself within the bounds of law and reason.

Probably Mr. Pope may have been communing alone with his conscience on some lonely isle of the Lake of the Woods, or while perched on some jutting crag above some waterfall at Keewatin, and made the discovery that he was not yet prepared to take his departure to the "other side of Jordan," his imagination became fickle and painted to him the other world which is to be his, in more lurid and glaring colors than he cared to look upon, hence his imaginary "wrecks" and dark "plots."

I can hardly allow myself to credit Charley Pope, my old friend, with the matter or construction of this letter, as in my humble opinion it has a specific object cunningly inserted in the context. How a letter of its style, composition and nature, could emanate from the hand of Pope, is more than I can divine. It would do credit to the general manager of the C. P. Ry., but it certainly reflects no credit on Charley Pope, who, through it, has fallen from Pope with a heavy thud to common bellman.

Relative to the actions of Mr. Pope, the Voice, of July 26, says editorially:

* * * * Engineer Charles Pope deserves an extended notice only because his contribution filled the first column (page one) of the Free Press on Tuesday last, thus securing a wide notice. * * * Mr. Pope begins by taking exception to the terms of President Wilson's circular of July 13th which was a well-drawn, inspiring document, and was well received and endorsed by the brotherhoods and the public. In the next paragraphs Mr. Pope tries and tries in vain to explain his extraordinary conduct in failing to fulfill the clear mandate laid upon him by the united brotherhoods, he fences and wiggles but he cannot get away from the plain fact that when the bugle note of duty rang out the place assigned to Charles Pope was empty. Had he filled it and done his duty, all concerned might have been in happier and more harmonious mood today. * * * (Here follows Mr. Pope's explanation of why he did not proceed to Montreal, etc., when requested by members of his order, which is printed above.) To assume that President Wilson was possibly averse to friendly intervention was a gratuitous affront to a kindred Brotherhood and, moreover, an invention, being contrary to the avowed attitude of the trackmen's representatives, and to wait for the consent of the vice-president of the C. P. R. indicates a lack of confidence in the strength, and a narrow conception of the duties of the great railroad brotherhoods, together with a timid deference to the pompous and autocratic methods of corporation magnates, which stamps Engineer Pope in this regard at least as being not a very valiant son of labor. Does the company or any other corporation making its huge

profits out of human labor observe this delicate punctilio in dealing with the victims? No, nor is it required.

There is doubtless a right and a wrong way to conduct a strike, and neither now nor ever have we counseled defiance nor anything but orderly and regular methods of presenting the claims of labor, but Mr. Pope's excuses are trifling and finicking, and, we would add, unworthy of him. * * * *

Engineer Pope has a good job and quite naturally and justifiably wants to keep it, and he is impatient of any interruption of his comparative prosperity, and so writes a good loyal letter, which, so far as it goes, is far more in the interests of the C. P. R. than the trackmen. Like thousands more with a fair wind on their quarter, Charles Pope has no objection whatever to trackmen being better paid, and would perhaps really like to see it, but taking any risk or making any exertion or sacrifice is quite another proposition.

Labor's struggle in the past and the looming Waterloos in the future call for, and will produce, more valiant champions than Charles Pope.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL CHAIRMEN TAKE A HAND.

On July 18 the chairman of the trackman's committee sent the following letter to Messrs. Charles Pope, B. L. E., Rat Portage, Ont.; W. H. Allison, O. R. T., 70 Melbourne St., Toronto, Ont.; A. W. Johns, B. R. T., 406 Fouseca St., Winnipeg, Man.; G. K. Wark, B. L. F., 71 Cameron St., Toronto, Ont.:

Montreal, July 18, 1901.

Dear Sir and Brother: This is the fifth week since the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway suspended work.

We have been notified of resolutions being passed at Union meetings held at various places by members of other railway orders, requesting the chairmen of the joint protective boards to convene in Montreal to act as a conciliation committee in an effort to effect a settlement between the C. P. Railway company's officials, and the maintenance-of-way men. We have also been notified by members of other orders that they consider their personal safety involved and their occupations too precarious to follow under existing circumstances.

My object in writing is to inform you that we are not opposed to any one who thinks us worthy of assistance, in our efforts to secure a fair settlement.

Were the chairmen of the joint protective boards of the other orders in Montreal, they could, no doubt, through their influence, bring the officials of the company and the representatives of the maintenance-of-way men together, which will enable them to determine whether the maintenance-of-way men or the company is entitled to their sympathy. Some of our members have been evicted from the company's houses and compelled to move their families into barns. Under such embarrassing circumstances they admonish us to stand firm until matters are settled right.

You will find enclosed a copy of a notice to the public from our president, by which you will see he is not opposed to outside parties, provided they are fair-minded, suggesting what is right and proper under the circumstances.

Yours fraternally,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman Committee.

No reply was received to the above letter from any of the parties to whom it was addressed.

July 19, the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

We wish to send you a word of greeting. We know the stream of falsehood from the official side never ceases, and all means known to human ingenuity are being used, to bring you back to work. A few, a very few, have weakened under the combined influences of threats, promises, flattery, bribes and lies, the rest are standing firm as the Rock of Gibraltar, so that from St. John to Vancouver, there are not today a dozen foremen at work, who were at work the day before the strike was called.

Even north and west of Toronto where the company assert the strike is over, a large proportion of the men are still unfaltering in their support of the committee, and on the Owen Sound branch, nine gangs who had, as they assert, been induced by false representations to go to work, sent in their resignations again on Monday morning, July 15th, and joined their striking brothers and say they will support your committee to the end.

Brothers, we want you to notice they have not replaced us by one sober, competent trackman, and they are hardly trying to do so, knowing that the skill to replace us is not in the country, nor available under such circumstances as now prevail on the C. P. R. Members of other orders have informed us that they consider their personal safety is involved and their occupations too precarious to follow under existing circumstances. The public is also becoming alarmed and will not submit to the present state of affairs on the C. P. Railway much longer. The officials are bending all their energies to seduce you from the allegiance you pledged to your committee, knowing that their only chance of replacing you is to have you replace yourselves. We verily believe a settlement would have been effected ere now had the babies who weakened been like you men who are getting the respect of all who value honor and pluck, by your manly, steadfast adherence to the committee who represent you.

Our advices from ocean to ocean show our men standing quietly, but firmly, and urging your committee to be equally firm; the public sentiment against allowing men of the character who, only, will knowingly take our place is so strong, that the company's special policemen have to use their revolvers to keep them at work, two men reported as having been shot in their desperate effort to escape from a train in which they were being taken to work.

The track is fast getting to the stage at which the running of trains will be impossible, and we can only say you have the whole thing in your own hands, you cannot be done without much longer, and can only be replaced by yourselves.

The attempt to prejudice you against your committee still goes on unceasingly. We are represented as being fools, unable to discuss the grievances of the trackmen, simply able to say, "Here is our schedule, sign it." It is constantly reported, we have thrown up the sponge and gone home. Take no stock in any of these yarns. We will stay till we get the agreement you sent us to secure, believing we now have men behind us with the stamina to say, "A fair agreement or we quit the service forever."

The stream of abuse of President Wilson is also steadily kept up. He is represented as being here to create disturbances in the interests of other trans-

portation companies. Again he is an alien, an American, and with no rights in this affair. We are glad you are above being duped by any of these silly attempts to create distrust of either your committee or your chief. Their objection to Mr. Wilson is that he has proven himself a match for the officials of the C. P. R., and a most valuable aid to your committee. We claim the same right to hire the best man available to help us fight our battles, without regard to nationality, that the C. P. R. has to engage a man to manage C. P. R. affairs. Again warning you against any and every attempt to bring you back to work till you are properly notified by our chairman, and assuring you every such going back prolongs the struggle. Yours in B. L. & U.,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

July 24, Mr. M. Dolphin, president of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, arrived in Montreal, called upon the maintenance-of-way men's representatives, and suggested that the following message be sent to the general chairmen of the B. L. E., B. L. F., O. R. C. and B. R. T.:

Montreal, July 24, 1901.

Chief executives firemen's, trainmen's and telegraphers' organizations have suggested in communications to our president that their respective general chairmen act as mediators in pending strike. If agreeable when can you attend conference? JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman Committee.

The following replies were received:

Toronto, Ont., July 24, 1901.

J. Lennon, Grand Union Hotel.

Can leave here tonight (Wednesday) by No. 6 for Montreal.

W. H. ALLISON.

Rat Portage, Ont., July 24, 1901.

J. Lennon, Chairman Committee.

Have explained to Grand Chief Conductor Clark action already taken. If instructed by him will act at once. A. SHAW.

Rat Portage, Ont., July 24, 1901.

J. Lennon, Grand Union Hotel, Montreal.

Have spent over a week in Winnipeg trying to get consent for conciliatory committee to act, whenever company and your committee both willing, I will act without delay. CHAS. POPE.

Mr. W. H. Allison, general chairman of the O. R. T., arrived in Montreal on the evening of the 25th of July, and on the morning of the 26th sent the following messages:

Montreal, July 26, 1901.

A. Shaw, Rat Portage, Ont.

Will you come to Montreal and act with general chairmen of trainmen, firemen and telegraphers, in effort to settle strike. If so when?

W. H. ALLISON.

Montreal, July 26, 1901.

Geo. K. Wark, 51 Cameron St., Toronto, Ont.

Will you come to Montreal and act with general chairmen of trainmen and telegraphers in effort to settle strike. If so, when can you come?

W. H. ALLISON.

A. W. Johns, 406 Fonseca St., Winnipeg, Man.

Will you come to Montreal and act with general chairmen of firemen and telegraphers in effort to settle strike. If so, when? W. H. ALLISON.

July 26 the following letter was sent to all members of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

We take pleasure in advising you that the determination of the men all along the line to stand firm until matters are settled right, appears to be as strong, if not stronger, than it was one week after the suspension of work took place.

The officials are making a desperate struggle to defeat us. We believe they are receiving assistance from outside parties, possibly, from all of the railway companies on the North American Continent. One of our members has informed us that a superintendent on the Kingston & Pembroke road hired a foreman and thirty men to work for the C. P. R. They were to receive more wages than the company were asked to pay by your committee, and were told that the strike on the C. P. R. had been settled, but when advised to the contrary, they refused to work. They have hundreds of inexperienced men, mostly Italians and aliens, walking up and down the track trying to convince the public that your places have been filled. It is said they do not do any work to amount to anything and are receiving more wages than we received for rendering faithful service while working for the company.

It is possible that other roads are furnishing money to the company to carry on this struggle, thinking that if the C. P. R. can, through their assistance, defeat us, it will take the 'heart' out of the maintenance-of-way men on all other roads, and prevent them from ever making an effort to bring about improved conditions for themselves and families. "Truth crushed to earth will rise again," and "you cannot keep a good man down."

The numerous misstatements published, and the unfair tactics adopted by the officials are enough to make any self-respecting man blush with shame. In the beginning of the strike they seduced and degraded R. C. Montgomery, caused him to desert our cause, to turn traitor, and to aid them in an effort to defeat us. They then had so little respect for him as to cause his actions to be published in the newspapers, which made it necessary for us to make an explanation, in a general circular issued July 4th, 1901. The following is a copy of a letter which each member of your committee and president received:—

Montreal, July 22, 1901.

McGibbon, Casgrain, Ryan & Mitchell, Canada Life Building.

L.—Mr. J. T. Wilson, Grand Union Hotel, Montreal.

Sir:—We are in receipt of instructions from Mr. R. C. Montgomery, of Ottawa, Ont., to notify you that, in a circular dated July 4th, 1901, and headed, "Headquarters of the Joint Protective Board, Grand Union Hotel, Montreal," he has been grossly libelled and defamed.

The references to our client are not only false and malicious, but have caused him serious injury, and have subjected himself and his family to humiliation and annoyance.

Moreover his relations with the men over whom and with whom he is employed have been and are likely to be seriously prejudiced by this defamatory publication, unless contradicted.

We have, therefore, to notify you, as one of those responsible for the publication and circulation of the offensive sheet, that the statements made therein with respect to Mr. Montgomery must be at once withdrawn and a proper apology tendered.

After submission to us the retraction must be given the same publicity by you and your associates as the original libel, and such other publicity as we may deem fit.

Unless this is at once done, we shall advise Mr. Montgomery not only to cause your apprehension on a charge of criminal libel, under the Criminal Code of Canada, but to institute Civil proceedings against you, before the Superior Court for damages.

Pray give this your immediate attention.

Your obedient servants,

(Signed) McGIBBON, CASGRAIN, RYAN & MITCHELL.

Brothers, we are British subjects; we are not cowards and will not be frightened, nor swerved from duty. Had a British officer who aided in conducting the siege at Ladysmith during the South African war deserted the British flag, and became an aid to the 'Krugerites,' and had a firm of lawyers undertaken to defend him, every Britisher living under and protected by the British flag with a spark of patriotism in his heart would have said that the deserter (the traitor), and his defenders deserved to be court-martialed and shot through their backs without right of clergy. If there is any one thing more than another the people of Canada despise it is a 'traitor.' And those who attempt to defend him deserve to be treated with the same contempt. Some people say money can do everything, but the principles of honest men cannot be purchased. Although corporations with unlimited amounts of money at their disposal have many mercenaries, we expect to win in our efforts to secure a fair settlement with the C. P. R.

Members of other organizations composed of railway employes on the C. P. R. have instructed their general chairmen to act as a "conciliatory committee" and to aid in bringing about a fair settlement between the company and its maintenance-of-way men. It has been stated that the general chairmen of all of the orders, with the exception of Mr. Pope, (chairman of the engineers), are anxious to come to Montreal to undertake the task. The chief executives of the B. L. F., B. R. T. and O. R. T., have suggested that their general chairmen act as mediators. The following is a copy of a message sent to all the general chairmen on the 24th inst., by our chairman:

Chief executives firemen's, trainmen's and telegraphers' organizations have suggested in communications to our President that their respective general chairmen act as mediators in pending strike, if agreeable, when can you attend conference?

Mr. Pope's reply to the above message is as follows:—

Have spent over a week in Winnipeg trying to get consent for conciliatory committee to act. Whenever company and your committee are both willing I will act without delay.

He also states in a letter to our president, dated July 19th:

The only difference of opinion between myself and the other general chairmen was on a pure matter of detail, the other gentlemen wishing to proceed to Montreal forthwith, while I wished to obtain the consent of Mr. McNicoll and yourself for the members of the committee to act.

If the general manager of the C. P. R. and the representatives of the maintenance-of-way men were both inclined to make a fair settlement they would have averted the trouble in the first place by doing their own "conciliating." Possibly, Mr. Pope may be able to explain the position taken by him, to the satisfaction of engineers who requested him to act in defence of their

lives, and to the members of other organizations composed of railway employes, but we fail to see any consistency in the stand he has taken.

Some may enquire: What can a "conciliation committee" do without being requested to act by both parties to the controversy.

The general chairmen of the other railway orders on the C. P. R. with the prestige of their respective organizations, certainly could do much towards effecting a fair settlement if they desire to do so.

They could say to the general manager of the C. P. R. company and to the representatives of the maintenance-of-way department employes on said road: You are not the only people who are being affected on account of this controversy. The public have rights that both of you are bound and should be compelled to respect. They could then say to the general manager: Your company has admitted that we represent fair-minded men, by entering into agreements with them pertaining to wages, terms and conditions of employment. Now sir, we will endeavor to arrive at a conclusion as to which party to the controversy is entitled to our sympathies and to the sympathies of the public. If you people are disposed to make a fair settlement for the benefit of the stockholders, for the protection of our lives, the lives of all the men we represent, for the relief of both parties to the controversy, and for the convenience of the public, we are anxious to aid you in determining what is right and proper under the circumstances, and if either party refuses to accept our good offices, the public will quickly determine whether the C. P. R. or the maintenance-of-way men are entitled to their sympathies.

Large aggregations of wealth, with their combined influences, are opposing the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. R., in this contest, but we are not cowards, we are soldiers, and will continue the struggle in a fair and square way. Mercenaries for corporations will resort to anything imaginable to defeat honest workingmen in an honest cause. Last summer the Transit Company's men were on strike in Missouri. The company had an army of detectives employed. One of them desiring to have himself styled a "hero" and to secure permanent employment from the company, at good wages, decided to blow up a bridge at a time when some of the strikers were near-by, capture two or three of them, and prove them guilty of the crime done by himself. He was caught placing dynamite in the structure by the civil authorities. After being arrested he made a confession and exposed his scheme.

Boys, we know you are law-abiding citizens, honest, hard-working men, and do not believe any of you would be guilty of endangering life, destroying property, or permit others to do so if you could prevent it. Be as "wise as serpents and as harmless as doves," and do not allow C. P. R. mercenaries to get you or any of your friends into trouble. The longer the siege and the harder the battle, the more glorious the victory will be. We want a fair settlement with the C. P. R. and must have it or leave the service of the company forever.

We would again call your attention to the closing paragraph of our circular of the 10th June, 1901, which we will again quote for your guidance:

"If your committee fails to make a settlement, and trouble is forced upon you, maintain your manhood, continue to be honest, hard-working, law-abiding citizens, as you have been in the past, and the good people of the Dominion of Canada will aid you in your struggles to redress the wrongs that have been, and are now being imposed upon you." Yours in B. L. & U.,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

G. K. Wark arrived in Montreal, and after discussing the situation with W. H. Allison and the trackmen's representatives, the following message and letter were sent to each of the other general chairmen, on July 30:

(Message.)

We believe general chairmen should meet and hear from both sides to the controversy and recommend what should be done to relieve all concerned. Will you come to Montreal and act with us?

W. H. ALLISON, Chairman O. R. T.
G. K. WARK, Chairman B. L. F.

(Letter.)

Dear Sir and Brother: Union meetings have been held at various places along the line of the C. P. Railway, and participated in by the members of the B. L. E., B. L. F., B. R. T., O. R. T., and O. R. C.

The members of the five railway orders above referred to have sent us copies of resolutions instructing the general chairmen of the several orders to act as a "conciliatory committee" in an effort to effect a settlement between the C. P. Railway officials and the maintenance-of-way department employes.

We will enclose a copy of a circular issued at Winnipeg, dated July 19, 1901, bearing the names of Charles Pope, A. Shaw, and A. W. Johns.

According to the contents of the circular above referred to, the three general chairmen (whose signatures are thereto attached) suggested terms for a settlement. The maintenance-of-way men's committee contend that they have not had an opportunity to present their side of the case to any of the general chairmen. However, they express a willingness to do so. The instructions received by us were signed by men representing the five railway organizations, and, we believe, we should meet in Montreal where the general offices of the C. P. Railway company are located, and in the city where the maintenance-of-way men's committee are stopping, and give both sides to the controversy an opportunity to submit such matters as they may deem proper, after which we may be able to suggest something that will help both sides to the controversy out of the difficulty.

Speaking for the members of our own organizations. We do not believe they will be pleased with the actions of their general chairmen without we proceed along the lines above suggested.

We came to Montreal in obedience to the instructions of our members, and will be pleased to co-operate with the other general chairmen in an effort to restore harmonious relations between the Canadian Pacific Railway officials and their maintenance-of-way department employes.

W. H. ALLISON, Chairman O. R T.
GEO. K. WARK, Chairman B. L. F.

The messages sent to the general chairmen of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Order of Railway Conductors by Messrs. Wark and Allison were sent through the Great Northwestern Telegraph Company. According to Mr. Allison's statement, a few minutes after the messages had been sent he received a summons over the telephone to go to the general offices of the C. P. Ry. company.

When he arrived there the officials exhibited a verbatim copy of the message he had just transmitted over the wires of the Great Northwestern.

Mr. Wark left for his home in Toronto with the understanding that he would return in a day or two.

August 1 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

The following resolutions, passed at a Union meeting participated in by the members of B. L. F., O. R. T., B. R. T., O. R. C. and B. L. E., are self-explanatory:—

To the Local Lodges of B. L. E., B. L. F., O. R. C., B. R. T., and O. R. T.:—

At a joint meeting of the above organizations the following resolutions were adopted unanimously, and endorsed by the Local Lodges of the organizations above mentioned, and the committee whose signatures are attached hereto, are appointed to forward a copy of same to all other lodges, and request them to take prompt and similar action:

Whereas, There appears to be no prospect of an early settlement regarding the difficulty between the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. and its striking maintenance-of-way men;

And Whereas, Said strike has continued during the past six weeks, and the Canadian Pacific Railway have been apparently unable to procure a sufficient number of men to keep the roadbed in its normal condition;

And Whereas, The only apparent reason for the continuance of the strike is the determination of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to refuse recognition to the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen;

And Whereas, Said refusal of recognition of said organization is a denial to the members thereof, of representation, and is also a blow aimed at the basic principles of organized labor, justice and natural rights;

And Whereas, The Canadian Pacific Railway Company have refused the good offices of the general chairmen of the B. L. E., O. R. C., and B. R. T., and as said refusal doth clearly show that the responsibility of the continuance of the strike rests solely with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company;

And Whereas, The employes in train service are being put to unnecessary annoyance and their lives jeopardized;

Therefore be it resolved, That this meeting of the five Brotherhoods, jointly assembled, do hereby instruct the general chairmen of the said Brotherhoods to proceed at once to the highest officials of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and, if necessary, also to the Dominion Government, and in each instance to forcefully place before both the prevalent condition of affairs, and strongly press for an immediate settlement of the strike.

Resolved, That the Brotherhoods here jointly assembled, do guarantee to compensate the several chairmen while engaged in carrying out the provisions of the attached, as provided for in the laws governing the organizations to which they belong.

A copy of these resolutions to be forwarded to the general chairmen.

[Note.—The names of the committee signing the above resolutions, as well as the place of meeting, are withheld to avoid blacklisting. The original copy is in my possession.]

The general chairmen of the B. L. F. and O. R. T. are in Montreal. They sent the following message to the general chairmen of the other orders:—

We believe general chairmen should meet and hear both sides to the controversy, and recommend what should be done to relieve all concerned. Will you come to Montreal and act with us?

W. H. ALLISON, Chairman O. R. T.
G. K. WARK, Chairman B. L. F.

Your chairman, secretary and myself have been arrested on a charge of criminal libel. The charge was made by R. C. Montgomery, and is based upon information concerning his actions, given to you on July 4.

It is clear to my mind that the Canadian Pacific Railway company is hedging behind Montgomery. I was told three weeks ago that the advisability of

having me arrested was being considered at the general offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway company, on the charge of inciting men to destroy property. A few days after I was informed that the company had decided to place Montgomery between themselves and your organization and have me arrested. On the morning of July 31st, I was advised through a party who frequently visits the general offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway company, that the officials had sent for Montgomery, and that your chairman, secretary and myself would be arrested in the afternoon. This information proved to be true, the arrests having been made.

The Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen having funds on hand, and a few fearless friends living in Montreal not wearing C. P. R. collars, who came forward and executed bonds, are the only things that prevented your president, chairman and secretary from being locked in cells prepared for criminals.

Will you uphold the C. P. R. company and its mercenaries, in their unscrupulous actions, or will you declare your souls your own, and support those who are fighting your battles in an honorable, manly and law-abiding way?

Brothers, you can decide for yourselves whether the C. P. Railway officials or Montgomery are prosecuting your president and committeemen.

Any maintenance-of-way man who will continue to work for the C. P. Railway company, under the circumstances, and until your grievances are properly adjusted and the charges against your grand officer and committeemen are withdrawn, is an enemy to organized labor and a traitor to justice.

Yours in B. L. & U.,
JOHN T. WILSON, Pres. B. R. T. of A.

When Mr. Wark returned to Montreal he stated that while in Toronto he was called to the long-distance telephone and requested to speak to C. W. Spencer, general superintendent, at Montreal, who informed him that the president of the Trackmen's Brotherhood had issued a statement, dated August 1, over his (Mr. Wark's) signature, and asked him if he had seen a copy of it. He replied that he had not. Mr. Spencer then proceeded to read the statement. When he had finished reading, Mr. Wark asked him whose name was affixed to the document. He replied, "John T. Wilson, but your name is on the circular also." He then advised Mr. Wark to denounce the president of the Trackmen's Brotherhood for using his name without authority.

Mr. Allison and Mr. Wark stated that during the conferences with the C. P. Ry. officials they were urged to return to their homes; that the manager had met the other chairmen in Winnipeg, explained matters to their satisfaction, and they were not going to Montreal.

August 8 the chairmen of the B. L. E. and O. R. C. arrived in Montreal.

Mr. M. M. Dolphin, president of the O. R. T., had returned to Montreal and was stopping at the Grand Union Hotel. When informed that representatives of the other orders were in Montreal and would try and effect a settlement between the company and its maintenance-

of-way men, and upon being requested to aid in bringing the contending factions together, he proceeded to the office of the president of the C. P. Ry. company and obtained his consent for the chairmen to act as conciliators. He then returned to the Grand Union Hotel, sought an interview with the chairmen, and after discussing matters for some time, sent for the president of the B. R. T. of A., who arrived in the committee room and met representatives of the other orders, and Mr. Dolphin. Mr. Dolphin stated that the chairmen of the other orders had come to Montreal in response to the wishes of the members of their organizations, to try and effect a settlement between the company and its maintenance-of-way men; that he had called upon the president of the C. P. Ry. company and he had agreed to accept the chairmen of the other orders as conciliators. He then asked the president of the B. R. T. of A. if he would accept the services of the chairmen as conciliators. The president of the B. R. T. of A. replied that the maintenance-of-way men had a committee present whose members should be consulted and their wishes respected in the matter. Mr. Dolphin replied: "The chairmen of the other orders are not expected to deal with under-strappers. Your committee and minor officials of the road have consumed too much time trying to effect a settlement. These gentlemen propose doing business with the heads of the C. P. Ry. company and the Trackmen's Brotherhood. Will you accept the chairmen of the other orders as conciliators?" On being answered in the affirmative, Mr. Dolphin stated that the conciliation committee should review the negotiations between the C. P. Ry. officials and the maintenance-of-way men's committee, in order to find out what differences existed between the company and the trackmen before trying to arrive at a basis of settlement satisfactory to both parties to the controversy.

Mr. Dolphin and the president of the B. R. T. of A. then withdrew; the chairmen proceeded to form themselves into a "conciliation committee," and to outline a course of procedure.

On the morning of August 9 the conciliation committee and the maintenance-of-way men's representatives met in joint session at the Grand Union Hotel. The president of the B. R. T. of A. reviewed the work of the maintenance-of-way men's committee, reading all correspondence relative thereto. He then addressed the conciliation committee and stated that in attempting to make a settlement between the officials of the company and the maintenance-of-way men they were assuming a great responsibility, and he would do anything reasonable and right to assist them in their undertaking. Mr. Pope, chairman of the conciliation committee, then requested the president of the B.

R. T. of A. to prepare a basis of settlement that, in his judgment, would be fair to the trackmen, whereupon he was handed a copy of the schedule prepared in April by the maintenance-of-way men's representatives and handed to the officials of the company. The president of the B. R. T. of A. then stated that he believed the maintenance-of-way men were entitled to all they were asking, and more. He requested the conciliation committee to secure a similar document from the company, setting forth what the officials considered fair wages for the maintenance-of-way men, and he would be willing to leave it to the conciliation committee, trusting to their honor, their sense of justice, their ability to determine what is right, and their courage to do right, believing they would arrive at a basis of settlement that would be fair to the company and the maintenance-of-way men.

The members of the conciliation committee appeared to be satisfied with the spirit of fairness displayed by the representatives of the maintenance-of-way men, saying that if the president of the C. P. Ry. company were as anxious to have the matter settled as the president of the B. R. T. of A., and would give them the same authority to act in the matter they had received from the president of the Trackmen's Brotherhood, the differences would be adjusted in a few minutes.

August 13 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

The general chairmen of the other orders are in Montreal. They have been accepted as a "conciliation committee" by the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway company and myself.

The officials contended that the demands made upon the company by your committee were unreasonable, and the charge that I am here in the interests of American transportation companies, trying to cripple Canadian industries, etc., has even been made.

I have advised the general chairmen of the other orders that we do not desire to make unreasonable demands upon the company, and that I am endeavoring to secure for you what I believe to be your just due, and in order to prove my sincerity, I am willing for them to decide upon an agreement setting forth the terms and conditions of your employment. In other words, they (the general chairmen of the other orders) have been accepted as sole arbitrators, without restriction.

The C. P. R. company has been doing business with the organizations the men represent, for years, which is equivalent to acknowledging them to be the representatives of intelligent and fair-minded people. If the company refuses to accept them as sole arbitrators, they will no longer be able to deceive the public and deprive you of the sympathies of the good people of Canada.

The men I have empowered to adjust your grievances are practical and experienced men, and they, as well as the officials with whom they are dealing, are British subjects. If they do not give you a square deal, British fair play is a hollow sham.

The charge against your committeemen and myself for criminal libel will

be tried on September 10. Mr. Montgomery, while on the witness stand, would not admit that he is prosecuting us in the interests of the C. P. R. company. He stated, however, that he was introduced to Mr. McGibbon (the head of the law firm who is looking after the prosecution) by Mr. C. W. Spencer, general superintendent of the C. P. R. company. This meeting took place at the Windsor Hotel—the most expensive and fashionable hotel in the city of Montreal. When a section foreman instructs other men to quit work, they obey his order, and he is promoted to assistant roadmaster, with an increase in his salary, and with the understanding he will aid in an attempt to defeat the men who obeyed his orders and quit work, by running over the road with a gang of laborers, and doing the work that was formerly done by the men whom he ordered to suspend work, he becomes an important individual, associates with such men as C. W. Spencer, general superintendent of the C. P. R. company, and R. D. McGibbon (King's counsellor), head of the law firm now prosecuting us, stops at the most expensive and fashionable hotel in Montreal, and discards the hotel your president and other workingmen stop at, and which he considered was good enough for him before he was promoted to the position of Assistant Roadmaster on the C. P. R.

We should not be too hard on poor Montgomery. Some trees grow straight; others grow crooked. Some men grow straight; others grow crooked. The blood a man inherits, the atmosphere he breathes, and his environment, usually determine what he is.

Boys, I believe there is something dead at the Windsor Street Station. "Coming events cast their shadows before." One of these days Mr. Shaughnessy will smell the corruption that has been going on, and there will be a general "house-cleaning."

I regret being compelled to inform you that a few of the men who instructed your committee to come to Montreal and do business for them, have degraded themselves by returning to work, without having their grievances adjusted. I believe, however, that 75 per cent of the men on the C. P. R. are men of character and stability, and that they will stand firm until an honorable settlement is made, should it take until the end of the year 1902.

Your letters of sympathy, on account of our being arrested, which were duly received at headquarters, are fully appreciated. Do not worry about us; we have no fear of the result, and we will continue to send you such information as we believe you are entitled to, in spite of probable cells, dungeons and penitentiaries.

Boys, I will not advise you to keep the track in safe running condition while the strike is on, but I will say that any one who would endanger life, destroy property, or allow the same to be done, is an enemy to our cause, and unworthy of holding membership in our organization.

I have made enquiries of the standing of trackmen at various places along the line of the C. P. Railway, and the citizens, without exception, tell me that you are industrious, law-abiding, honest and hard-working men.

Preserve your good reputations. Work at anything you can find to do, until an honorable settlement is reached with the company. In spite of the efforts of your opponents to deceive the people, and deprive you of their sympathies, the eyes of the public have been opened, and they are now beginning to see things as they really are. They will aid you more in the future than they have done in the past.

Yours in B. L. & U.,

JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONCILIATORS (!) AT WORK.

August 13 the conciliation committee notified the maintenance-of-way men's committee that they desired to hold a joint conference at 2 p. m.

At 2 p. m. the meeting took place. The chairman of the conciliation committee stated that the manager of the C. P. Ry. had returned to Montreal and desired to hold a joint conference with the maintenance-of-way men's committee and the conciliation committee. The chairman of the maintenance-of-way men's committee stated that the settlement of the differences between the maintenance-of-way men and the company had been left to the president of the company, the president of the Trackmen's Brotherhood and the conciliation committee, and he had no desire to take the matter out of their hands. The chairman of the conciliation committee replied that the members of his committee wanted the maintenance-of-way men's committee to meet the manager with them, and as they were endeavoring to make a settlement and end the strike, he believed they should comply with the request.

It will be observed that the president of the C. P. Ry. company and the president of the Trackmen's Brotherhood were no longer considered factors by the conciliation committee.

August 14 the conciliation committee called at the Grand Union Hotel and informed the maintenance-of-way men's committee that they had secured from the manager the following proposition, and desired to present it for consideration:

Montreal, 13th August, 1901.

The second vice-president and general manager will approve circulars setting out the rates of pay for trackmen, in accordance with his letter of June 12th, and also reciting rules and regulations governing the employment and service of the trackmen, and at the end of one year from this date, if the trackmen of the Canadian Pacific Railway company have effected a responsible and workable organization, the company will meet a committee and grant them a schedule; provided, however, that such schedule shall only apply to foremen and first and second men of one year's standing in the company's service, and neither the schedule nor any of its conditions shall apply to others employed either on section work or on extra gangs, nor shall any committee representing the organization at any time interfere, or attempt to interfere with the relations between the company and employes in its maintenance-of-way department, to whom the said schedule will not apply as above set forth.

The company will reinstate all men in their respective positions, provided such positions have not been filled under promise of permanency during the absence of strikers. In the case of positions having been filled, the company will give such remaining men preference in filling other similar positions as

near to their old location as possible. This clause not applicable to those who have been guilty of violence.

The fact that men have been engaged in the strike shall not prejudice their positions once they are restored to the service.

The company will always be glad to meet any committee of its employes, whether engaged in the maintenance-of-way or any other department, for the purpose of discussing suggestions calculated to remove any disadvantages under which the men may labor, or to promote the interests of the company.

D. McNICOLL, Second Vice-President and General Manager.

Mr. CHARLES POPE, Chairman Conciliation Committee, Montreal.

1 Enc.

To be Embodied in the Rules and Regulations.

13. Employes suspended or discharged will have the right of appeal from the decision of their immediate superiors. D. McN.

The president of the B. R. T. of A. realized as soon as he read the document that it was an insult to the intelligence of the trackmen's committee, and, if accepted, would mean an unconditional and disgraceful surrender upon the part of the trackmen; but as the conciliation committee represented fairly well paid employes of the company he considered their bringing the proposition to the trackmen's representatives an act of courtesy towards the manager.

The conciliation committee were advised that the maintenance-of-way men's representatives would prepare a proposition to be submitted to the manager.

The following was prepared and submitted:

Grand Union Hotel, Montreal, August 14, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-Pres. and Gen. Mgr., C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: We, the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway system, have been in Montreal the greater part of the time since April 13th. During the month of June, and while we were holding conferences hoping to effect an amicable settlement of all differences, your subordinate officials were going over the road trying to break up our organization.

About one week ago the general chairmen of the other orders which have been established on the C. P. Railway, arrived in Montreal.

On Friday, of last week, they (the general chairmen) were accepted by the president of the C. P. Railway company, and by the president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen, as a "conciliation committee."

According to advices received your subordinate officials are still making strenuous efforts to break the strike. We believe the contest between the C. P. Railway officials and the maintenance-of-way men has lasted too long. Had a settlement been made earlier lives that have been lost might have been saved, and men who have been maimed and crippled for life might be well and hearty today.

We believe the maintenance-of-way men are entitled to an agreement with the company setting forth the terms and conditions of their employment which would be considered a fair settlement by experienced, honest, capable, and honorable men, therefore, we propose to accept the general chairmen of the other

Orders as arbitrators, with the understanding that they will arrange what they consider to be a fair settlement for both parties to the controversy under the circumstances. If the company will allow them to determine what is fair and be governed by their decision, as soon as we receive a written agreement from you to the effect that the company will accept the general chairmen as arbitrators, the strike will be declared off, and they can arrange the details of the settlement afterwards. Yours truly,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman Committee.

The manner in which the above letter was received by the conciliation committee convinced the president of the Trackmen's Brotherhood that the general chairmen of the other orders were no longer a "conciliating" committee. The chairman of the conciliation committee declined to deliver the letter to the manager. The maintenance-of-way men's representatives, he stated, should discuss the proposition with them, thereby giving them an opportunity to explain what a splendid settlement had been offered by the manager, through them. He also stated that they had come to Montreal to aid the maintenance-of-way men's representatives in making a settlement, and secured a proposition which they believed to be a fair basis of settlement under the circumstances. They were sorry the trackmen's representatives had turned them down. The chairman of the conciliation committee frankly stated that the maintenance-of-way men's representatives should accept the terms offered by the manager.

Owing to Chairman Pope's previous actions, the president of the B. R. T. of A. had no confidence in him, but believed that the other chairmen would make a fair settlement, if given the authority to do so. Addressing the committee, the president of the B. R. T. of A. stated that the trackmen's representatives had not turned the conciliation committee down, but proposed to accept them as sole arbitrators, and quoted from the above letter as follows:

We propose to accept the general chairmen of the other Orders as arbitrators with the understanding that they will arrange what they consider to be a fair settlement for both parties to the controversy, under the circumstances.

The chairman of the conciliation committee then said he did not think it proper for him to deliver the above letter to the manager, and it was sent by special messenger.

On account of the unfriendly attitude of the chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen towards the trackmen, after meeting the manager in Winnipeg, charges were preferred against him by members of his division, which prevented him from acting with the other chairmen. The vice-presdient of the B. R. T. was, therefore, authorized to fill his place. He did not arrive in Montreal as soon as the other chairmen. On August 15 he attempted to take part in a

joint meeting of the trackmen's and conciliation committees. He gave the members of the conciliation committee to understand that he was not in favor of their trying to influence the representatives of the trackmen to accept the basis of settlement proposed by the manager. This protest resulted in his being called down by the chairman of the conciliation committee and given to understand that if he took part in the deliberations he would have to be governed by what had been done by the other chairmen. He said the conciliation committee had secured for the trackmen a fair basis of settlement, and he was going to advocate its acceptance by the trackmen's committee.

The president of the B. R. T. of A. addressed the meeting, stating that a letter had been sent to the manager by the chairman of the maintenance-of-way men's committee the day previous, in which they proposed to accept the chairmen of the other orders as "sole arbitrators," but no answer had been received, and he considered that the manager had turned down the chairmen of the other orders by refusing to allow them to arbitrate the differences between the company and its maintenance-of-way men. He said he had been charged with causing a strike on the C. P. Ry. in the interest of competing transportation companies in the states; that the maintenance-of-way men's committee had been accused of making unreasonable demands upon the company; the general chairmen (the heads of the other orders on the C. P. Ry. system and employes of the company) had been accepted as conciliators and arbitrators by the trackmen's committee; while the manager of the C. P. Ry. had refused to accept them, and he believed the company would no longer be able to deceive the public by contending that he was working in the interests of competing transportation companies, or that the maintenance-of-way men's committee had made unreasonable demands. He believed the actions of the general chairmen had been the means of strengthening the cause of the trackmen, as their case could now be placed before the citizens of Canada in its true light. The only request he had to make of the conciliation committee was for them to recommend that all differences between the C. P. R. Co. and its maintenance-of-way men be settled by arbitration. He then thanked them for their services and stated that if they would present their expense bills they would be paid by the B. R. T. of A.

The chairman of the conciliation committee was very much displeased with the position taken by the president of the trackmen's Order. He arose, shed crocodile tears, and declared that if the conciliation committee left Montreal without effecting a settlement the trackmen's strike on the C. P. Ry. would be dead in forty-eight hours and the funeral of their organization would soon take place. The presi-

dent of the B. R. T. of A. replied, saying: "Brothers, do not worry or weep on account of the trackmen's position. We are not ready for a post-mortem, and when we are dead 'let the dead bury the dead.'" He said his time would be consumed that afternoon in preparing a statement which he desired to give out to the members of the B. R. T. of A. He then left the committee room. About 6 p. m. he returned to the committee room and was surprised at finding the members of the conciliation committee still there, trying to coerce and browbeat the trackmen's committee into accepting the manager's proposed basis of settlement. He thought that they would consider their work at an end and depart, but such was not the case.

The reader will not have to stretch his imagination very much to realize that this was a critical period, and that the president of the B. R. T. of A. was being sorely tried. The chairman of the conciliation committee invited the members of his committee and the president of the B. R. T. of A. to leave the room with him and allow the trackmen's committee to vote upon a proposition they had voted upon and rejected.

The president of the B. R. T. of A. promptly replied: "I am president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen; this is our committee room; we are paying our expenses; I am here in an advisory capacity; if the maintenance-of-way men's committee want my advice they are entitled to it and shall have it, without regard to the interference of any man or set of men."

The chairman of the trackmen's committee addressed the president of the B. R. T. of A., saying: "You go along with the conciliation committee. We will consult with you later on." His request was complied with.

Only a commander of an army fighting for a just cause, knowing the boys behind the guns were heroic fighters with a victory almost won, and believing they were about to be betrayed by his lieutenants and turned over to the enemy, can realize the trying position the president of the B. R. T. of A. was in.

In about twenty minutes the president of the B. R. T. of A. returned to the committe room and soon discovered that the maintenance-of-way men's committee was partially disorganized. He told them that they had voted the day before to reject the proposed basis of settlement, without a dissenting vote, and asked them if they had decided by their votes to reconsider the matter. He was informed that they had not, but had been discussing it with the conciliation committee, who were urging them to vote upon and adopt it. The president of the B. R. T. of A. advised them to adjourn, and stated that if they allowed themselves to be duped by their enemies the men whom they

were representing and who were dependent upon them for protection would be wronged; that the company would be permitted to take back only such men as they wanted and he would never again champion their cause. The meeting then adjourned till 8 p. m.

Soon after the trackmen's committee met, the chairman was notified that the chairman of the conciliation committee desired to see him. He responded to the call and was informed that the basis of settlement proposed by the manager was indorsed by the conciliation committee and demanded that the trackmen's committee give a written reply, accepting or rejecting the proposition. The following is a copy of the reply:

Montreal, August 15, 1901.

Mr. Chas. Pope, Chairman Conciliation Committee.

The terms of settlement proposed by the general manager of the C. P. Railway company, through your committee, to the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men, is not considered a fair basis of settlement.

We believe a board of arbitrators composed of fair-minded men would render a decision more favorable to the men we represent than has been proposed by the general manager.

Therefore, we will request the members of the conciliation committee to recommend that the matter be settled by arbitration.

Hoping it will be consistent with the views of the members of your committee to comply with this request and thanking you for the efforts made to bring about a proper understanding and a fair settlement, we are,

Very truly yours,

J. LENNON, Chairman.

A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

August 16 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

The general chairmen of the other Orders on the C. P. Railway have been in Montreal for some time. Last Friday they were accepted by the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway company and myself to act as a "conciliation committee."

Instead of trying to conciliate and effect a settlement through the president of the C. P. Railway company and myself, they took the matter up with the general manager.

After conciliating for about a week, the following basis of settlement was proposed by the general manager, comment upon which I consider unnecessary:

Montreal, 13th August, 1901.

The second vice-president and general manager will approve circulars setting out the rates of pay for trackmen, in accordance with his letter of June 12th, and also reciting rules and regulations governing the employment and service of the trackmen, and at the end of one year from this date, if the trackmen of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have effected a responsible and workable organization, the company will meet a committee and grant them a schedule; provided however that such schedule shall only apply to foremen and first and second men of one year's standing in the company's service, and neither the schedule nor any of its conditions shall apply to others employed either on section work or on extra gangs, nor shall any committee representing

the organization at any time interfere, or attempt to interfere with the relations between the company and employes in its maintenance-of-way department, to whom the said schedule will not apply as above set forth.

The company will reinstate all men in their respective positions, provided such positions have not been filled under promise of permanency during the absence of strikers. In the case of positions having been filled, the company will give such remaining men preference in filling other similiar positions as near to their old location as possible. This clause not applicable to those who have been guilty of violence.

The fact that men have been engaged in the strike shall not prejudice their positions once they are restored to the service.

The company will always be glad to meet any committee of its employes, whether engaged in the maintenance-of-way or any other department, for the purpose of discussing suggestions calculated to remove any disadvantages under which the men may labor, or to promote the interests of the company.

D. McNICOLL, Second Vice-Pres. & General Mgr.

Mr. CHARLES POPE, Chairman, Conciliation Committee, Montreal.
1 Enc.

To Be Embodied in the Rules and Regulations.

13. Employes suspended or discharged will have the right of appeal from the decision of their immediate superiors. D. McN.

Your committee declined to accept the proposed terms of settlement, and sent the following letter to the general manager:

Grand Union Hotel, Montreal, August 14, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, 2nd Vice-Pres. & Gen. Mgr., C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir:—We the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway System, have been in Montreal the greater part of the time since April 13th. During the month of June, and while we were holding conferences hoping to effect an amicable settlement of all differences, your subordinate officials were going over the road trying to break up our organization.

About one week ago the general chairmen of the other Orders which have been established on the C. P. Railway, arrived in Montreal.

On Friday of last week, they (the general chairmen) were accepted by the president of the C. P. Railway company, and by the president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen, as a "conciliation committee."

According to advices received your subordinate officials are still making strenuous efforts to break the strike. We believe the contest between the C. P. Railway officials and the maintenance-of-way men has lasted too long. Had a settlement been made earlier lives that have been lost might have been saved, and men who have been maimed and crippled for life might be well and hearty to-day.

We believe the maintenance-of-way men are entitled to an agreement with the company setting forth the terms and conditions of their employment which would be considered a fair settlement by experienced, honest, capable, and honorable men, therefore, we propose to accept the general chairmen of the other Orders as arbitrators, with the understanding that they will arrange what they consider to be a fair settlement for both parties to the controversy under the circumstances. If the company will allow them to determine what is fair and be governed by their decision, as soon as we receive a written agreement from you to the effect that the company will accept the general chairmen as arbitrators, the strike will be declared off, and they can arrange the details of the settlement afterwards. Yours truly,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman Committee.

No answer has been received to the above.

We have requested the general chairmen of the other Orders to recommend to the company, and your representatives, that the differences be settled by a "board of arbitration," the arbitrators to be selected in the usual way.

Your case is in a condition to be presented to the public in a true light. If you will be true to yourselves the honest people of Canada, who believe in upholding right and crushing wrong, will assist you in securing an honorable and fair settlement.

Some of the men, who were deceived and influenced to return to work, suspended work again, and have notified your committee that they will stand firm until matters are settled right, or sever their connection with the company forever.

Yours in B. L. & U.,
JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

CHAPTER X.

THE MASK TORN OFF.

The members of the maintenance-of-way men's committee were much sought after by members of the conciliation committee. Although the chairman of the conciliation committee did not take meals and lodging at the Grand Union Hotel, he was on hand early on the morning of the 16th, notwithstanding he had been notified by the trackmen's committee the previous evening that the only service his committee could render the trackmen would be to recommend that the differences be settled by arbitration.

One member of the trackmen's committee, George McTaggart, seemed to be very much under the influence of the members of the conciliation committee. Instead of aiding in sending out statements to the members of the B. R. T. of A., he absented himself during the day. About four o'clock in the afternoon the following communication was received by the trackmen's committee:

Queen's Hotel, Montreal, August 16th, 1901.

To the Officers and Members of the B. of L. E., O. R. C., B. of L. F., B. of R. T., and O. R. T., of the Canadian Pacific Railway:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: The undersigned general chairmen herewith submit the following report for your consideration:

In compliance with request of members of our organizations, we met in Montreal on Thursday, August 8th, 1901, to renew the efforts which some of the general chairmen had made towards obtaining the consent of the company and maintenance-of-way men for the general chairmen of the five organizations to act as conciliators in the present dispute.

Our services being accepted by both parties we took up the duties of the conciliation board.

After several interviews had been held between the board of conciliation, the company and the committee representing the trackmen, we succeeded in obtaining a basis of settlement which we believed to be reasonable and fair under the present conditions of the strike situation and recommended that it be accepted by the trackmen, explaining to them that the terms submitted were equal to those obtained by any of the other organizations in their first efforts to obtain recognition.

After the terms of settlement had been fully explained to the trackmen and a vote taken by them, the following letter was presented to the board of conciliation by the chairman of the trackmen:

Montreal, August 15th, 1901.

Mr. Chas. Pope, Chairman Conciliation Committee:—The terms of settlement proposed by the general manager of the C. P. Railway Company through your committee to

the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men, is not considered a fair basis of settlement.

We believe a board of arbitrators composed of fair minded men, would render a decision more favorable to the men we represent than has been proposed by the general manager.

Therefore, we will request the members of the conciliation committee to recommend that the matter be settled by arbitration.

Hoping it will be consistent with the views of the members of your committee to comply with this request and thanking you for the efforts made to bring about a proper understanding and a fair settlement, we are, Very truly yours,

J. LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

We, as a board of conciliation, feel that our duties as mediators have ended, and that nothing further can be done by us, unless President Wilson of the B. R. T. of A. will agree to leave the city within twenty-four hours, and not to interfere in any way with either committee and will give authority to the trackmen's committee to declare the strike off when, in their judgment, a reasonable and fair basis of settlement can be effected.

CHAS. POPE, Chairman B. of L. E.
A. SHAW, Chairman O. R. C.
GEO. K. WARK, Chairman B. of L. F.
E. E. EDDY, Chairman B. R. T.
W. H. ALLISON, Chairman O. R. T.

The statement in the above letter "that the terms submitted were equal to those obtained by any of the other organizations in their first efforts to obtain recognition," is false.

During the strike of the telegraph operators on the C. P. Ry. in 1896, the company's officials proposed a basis of settlement very similar to the one submitted to the trackmen's representatives, but the men conciliating between the C. P. Ry. company and the telegraphers had too much respect for the intelligence of the telegraphers' representatives to even submit to them the terms proposed by the company. They possessed enough character, brains and courage to propose a fair basis of settlement, which was accepted by both parties.

The above communication, signed by the chairmen of the B. L. E., O. R. C., B. L. F., O. R. T., and the secretary of the board of adjustment of the B. R. T., tore from their faces the last vestige of a "conciliation" mask.

The maintenance-of-way men's representatives were convinced beyond doubt that they had been dealing with a committee whose purpose was to deceive and disorganize the trackmen, rather than to aid them in securing a fair and honorable adjustment of their grievances, and whose arbitrary action in ordering the president of the B. R. T. of A. to leave Montreal put them in the attitude of a vigilance committee which assumes the role of judge, jury and executioner.

The letter was given to the press by the vigilance committee and appeared in the afternoon papers throughout the Dominion several hours before it was received by the maintenance-of-way men's com-

mittee. The trackmen's committee considered the demand made by the vigilance committee, that the president of their organization should leave town within twenty-four hours, a base insult, and promptly passed a resolution to the effect that the communication be ignored altogether.

About nine o'clock on the evening of August 16, one of the writer's assistants called at his room and informed him that the vigilance committee reported to the officials of the C. P. Ry. that four out of seven of the committeemen had been captured. The names of the committeemen reported captured were McTaggart, Frederick, Nason and Johnson.

On account of Committeeman Frederick being in a very weak condition, physically and mentally (having been in the hospital the greater part of the summer), he was considered irresponsible.

Committeeman McTaggart was frequently seen in company with a man whom all of the maintenance-of-way men's representatives believed to be a C. P. Ry. detective, and continuing to associate with him after being advised not to do so, together with his friendly attitude towards the members of the vigilance committee, caused the trackmen's committee to no longer consider him a true representative of the maintenance-of-way men.

On August 17 the president of the B. R. T. of A. met the trackmen's committee in the committee room and preferred the following charges against Committeeman McTaggart:

1st. That George McTaggart has been dickering with the Canadian Pacific Railway officials, through the general chairmen of the other Orders, and received and was considering a proposition to make a settlement for part of the members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America.

2nd. That George McTaggart and a man who is believed to be a C. P. R. detective, had taken one of the maintenance-of-way men's representatives here present, out for a carriage drive, and attempted to induce him to drink intoxicating liquors, and stop with them at disreputable places.

The chairman of the committee then instructed the secretary to notify McTaggart of the charges preferred against him and request him to appear in the committee room and answer same.

The secretary, upon returning to the committee room, informed the chairman that McTaggart refused to appear. He was then expelled and the following notice was handed to him:

Montreal, August 17, 1901.

Mr. G. McTaggart, Montreal.

Dear Sir: On account of your receiving and considering a proposition for a settlement for part of the members of the B. R. T. of A., without the knowledge or consent of the other members of the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and other conduct unbe-

coming to a member of the general grievance committee, and on account of your refusing to appear in the committee room when requested to do so, for the purpose of explaining the cause of your action, you have been expelled from the committee, and Mr. C. E. King, the president of the local division in which you hold membership, has been notified of your expulsion and requested to come to Montreal to represent the men in the bridge and building department on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

I have been instructed by our grand president, Brother Wilson, that the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America will not be responsible for your board after this date.

A. F. STOUT, Secretary Trackmen's Committee.

The following messages are self-explanatory:

C. E. King, North Bend, B. C.

McTaggart expelled from committee; notify all concerned. Come to Montreal at once to represent bridgemen. We are going to win.

JOHN T. WILSON.

John T. Wilson, Montreal.

What's the trouble with McTaggart? Cannot come. Reply here quick.

C. E. KING.

C. E. King, Yale, B. C.

Believe he has been corrupted and will aid in an effort to break strike by dividing bridge and trackmen. Balance of our committee incorruptible. Come or send a proper man. Expenses will be paid.

JOHN T. WILSON.
JOE LENNON.

John T. Wilson, Montreal.

Will be there as soon as possible. C. E. KING.

Mr. King arrived and performed his duties well.

When it became known that McTaggart was not in accord with the other members of the committee and had been suspended, he became a very popular man with the chairman of the vigilance committee. Much of their time was spent together and the following press report is believed to be a joint document prepared by them:

There are two sides to the McTaggart story. In conversation with a Star representative this morning Mr. McTaggart said:

"It is an absolute falsehood to say and publish a report that I was expelled from the trackmen's committee, unless a man can be expelled from a committee after he has resigned and declared in no uncertain words that he would never sit on it again while President Wilson held the position he did.

"On Thursday last I left the room when I found that Wilson was bound that the report of the conciliation committee should not be accepted, and as I left I told the members that the action was a resignation from the committee, and I should not return to sit with them. Then it was so engineered that a trumped up charge was made and I was expelled from the committee.

"I want to say now that I have the opportunity that as a member of the committee which has carried on the negotiations with the C. P. R., that the strike would have been over long ago had it not been for the presence of Mr.

Wilson. From the very first he has done everything he could to continue the strike for the glory of Wilson and I am glad that things are now being taken out of his hands so that the members may have a chance to get matters settled and get back to work before the snow comes." * * * There has been a good deal of gossip over the vote taken on the proposals made by the conciliation committee and which were rejected on Thursday last. Mr. McTaggart says that he is not at all sure that a vote was ever taken. He knows that he was not there at the time and knows that Mr. Frederick was not there.

"I have also reasons for believing that Mr. Johnson was not there," Mr. McTaggart says, "and if he was not there who passed the motion? Mr. Lennon is a splendid man, but acting too much with Mr. Wilson, Mr. Stout, the secretary, and two others. Now, I do not think, with the influence Mr. Wilson brought to bear, that can be called a decisive vote, and it may be turned round at any moment. Does it not stand to reason that, unless there be an ulterior motive, the committee would not turn down the proposal of five other organizations whose good graces they are trying to get and to keep? Certainly not. The proposition would have been accepted with honor to all parties concerned, but it did not suit Mr. Wilson.

"A word about the statement made in the morning paper to the effect that the committee had been aware for some time that I had been negotiating with the company. It is as false as it is malicious and I defy Mr. Wilson to prove it. If I had, it would have been but justice, for I have read letters sent to the members of the committee from fathers and mothers praying for money to keep them from starving. I have heard the most piteous appeals made that it is possible to imagine, and yet the president of the organization has striven to avoid a settlement so that his own aggrandizement might be greater in the end. I ask if that is honest. I swear to you that it is true. I do not know where the money is that belongs to the Brotherhood. Some of it has undoubtedly been spent on the strike, but if it has it should have passed through the committee, and none of it has. The very fact that I, as a committeeman, have never known of any expense shows that the money ought to have gone through the hands of the men who are representing the main body of toilers."

President Wilson, when asked to reply to the serious charges made by Committeeman McTaggart, said that he had nothing whatever to say about it. It was pointed out to Mr. Wilson that the statements were made by a man who had been his confrere and who had boldly asserted that what he said was fact. In view of this, Mr. Wilson was asked if it would not be wise to give out some statement in reply. He said, "No."

August 20 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

In order to lay before the members of our organization the platform we are standing on, and to contradict rumors which the company have started amongst our members, we have established the following platform and basis for a settlement:

THE ROCK ON WHICH C. P. R. TRACKMEN STAND.

The principal conditions under which the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Railway will make a settlement with the company, are as follows:—

1st. All men now on strike who have not been convicted of crime in connection with the strike, shall be reinstated in their former positions without prejudice.

2nd. An agreement must be signed by the proper official of the C. P. R., setting forth the terms and conditions of employment of maintenance-of-way men which will protect them against unjust discrimination by any of the company's officials.

3rd. A reasonable and uniform increase in wages must be granted sufficient at least to make the purchasing power of a day's wages equal to what it was two years ago, or before the general rise in prices.

4th. The committee will submit the settling of all differences to impartial arbitration, the arbitrators to be selected in the usual way.

5th. And this committee indorses, and have always approved of, the position taken by their president, John T. Wilson, in the controversy, and consider themselves entitled to his advice and aid without interference or dictation from any source.

When the above terms are accepted by the company the strike will be declared off, but not until then

J. LENNON, Representative Pacific Division.
J. B. BRUNSKILL, Representative Western Division.
J. W. JOHNSON, Representative Eastern Division.
A. F. STOUT, Representative O. & Q. Division.
E. E. NASON, Representative Atlantic Division.

Brothers, our president has been asked by the chairmen of the other Orders of railwaymen to leave the city.

We, your committee, have considered it a gross insult to us and to every member of our organization, and claim we have the right to our president's advice without interference from any source. We know that rumors to the effect that we have been offered a good settlement have been circulated among our men; but, in our circular dated August 17th, you have a copy of the basis of settlement offered by Mr. McNicoll and recommended by the conciliation committee which would, if accepted, have been an unconditional surrender.

To have accepted their recommendation would mean:

1. That our Union would not be recognized and our members could be discharged without cause at any time.

2. That new foremen who have taken some of our places would remain, and you would have to work under them or take other employment.

3. That we would have no settlement of the wage question.

We are unanimous in our position. We feel certain of success in the near future. We were sent here to carry out your instructions and are going to do so. Great pressure has been put upon us to agree to a betrayal of those we represent.

Brethren, do your duty and we will do ours, and unitedly we will succeed in our efforts. We are struggling for justice and a fair settlement and we feel sure our men will stand by us until a proper adjustment of our grievances has been made.

J. LENNON, Chairman.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary.

Notwithstanding the members of the vigilance committee did everything in their power to carry out the wishes of the manager and to force the maintenance-of-way men's representatives to accept the terms of settlement proposed by him, according to their report the following basis of settlement was proposed by them:

1st. Every man who has gone out on strike, or who has voted to strike, or who has been discharged for refusing to take the place of a striker, to be reinstated without prejudice.

2nd. The company to recognize and deal with the properly authorized committees of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America employed on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

3rd. All matters relating to the conditions of service and compensation therefor to be adjusted by an impartial and practical body of men mutually agreeable to parties interested within ..... days.

The above proposition was not submitted to the maintenance-of-way men's representatives. According to their report they sent the following letter to the president of the C. P. Ry. company:

T. G. Shaughnessy, Esq., President C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: During our conference with you on Friday p. m., you requested us to be as frank in our conversation as you had been with us, and, as both the Trackmen's Association and yourself have consented to accept our services as a conciliation committee, we feel at liberty to talk plainly on the subject.

As representatives of organized labor, we are naturally guided to a certain extent by precedents, and by making proposition as basis of settlement, we felt that we were asking only for the trackmen what other organizations had been granted.

We, as a committee, fully appreciate that the welfare of the organizations we represent largely depends upon the success of the company by whom we are employed.

Our intention is to do what we consider in the best interests of the company and the employes.

Owing to the fact that accidents have occurred in close proximity to where watchmen are located, and the possibility that these conditions may grow worse, notwithstanding all efforts the company may make to guard the track and make the conditions of service of our members secure, we feel that emergencies may arise which may compel our members, from consideration of personal safety, to decline any longer to perform their usual duties, notwithstanding that they desire to be loyal to their agreements with the company.

The contracts between the company and our members are for service under normal conditions, and should the extra risks due to the present conditions compel them to decline to perform their usual duties, our organizations would feel that they should not be subjected to discipline or financial loss.

In view of the above facts, and the complications that may arise, we would be glad if the company would see its way clear to accept of the first two clauses of basis of settlement recommended by us, and should they see fit to do so, we would be prepared to consider any restrictions or conditions that

they might think necessary to impose on the trackmen for the protection of the company's interests in the future.

The committee will be pleased to meet you at your convenience on Monday.

Yours respectfully,

CHAS. POPE, Chairman.

W. H. ALLISON, Secretary.

CHAPTER XI.

REAL CONCILIATORS APPEAR UPON THE SCENE.

Before the vigilance committee sent out their report the members of the board of adjustment of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen arrived in Montreal. The secretary of their board had been working in harmony with the vigilance committee and the C. P. Ry. officials, but when it was pointed out to him that the vigilance committee was acting in bad faith towards the maintenance-of-way men, he demanded that the following clause be added to their report:

"That the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen go on record as being opposed to the basis of settlement proposed by the company and afterwards amended by the conciliation committee, as it is not considered a fair basis of settlement."

The vigilance committee refused to allow the above clause to be inserted and Mr. Eddy, secretary of the B. R. T. board of adjustment, erased his signature from the report.

The members of the board of adjustment of the B. R. T., feeling that, as representatives of the members of their organization, they had a grievance, because some of their members had lost their lives during the strike, on account of track not being kept in proper condition, offered to aid the maintenance-of-way men in an effort to effect a settlement, which offer was accepted, and the following letter was prepared and handed to the chairman of the B. R. T. board of adjustment:

Montreal, August 27, 1901.

Mr. T. J. Coughlin, Chairman Board of Adjustment, B. R. T.

Dear Sir: The general grievance committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway system, having failed in their efforts to make a settlement with the Canadian Pacific Railway officials, and being anxious to terminate the difficulty, will accept the members of the board of adjustment of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen as mediators between the Canadian Pacific Railway company and the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway system.

Yours respectfully,

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman Committee.

August 28 the following letter was mailed to each member of the B. R. T. of A. on the C. P. Ry. system:

On account of so many misleading statements being published, concerning the work and actions of the general chairmen of the other Railway Orders,

who were accepted by the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway company, and by the president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen, as a conciliation committee, I will endeavor to state the facts concerning the matter.

I have no hesitancy in saying that the members of the conciliation committee did not act in good faith with the maintenance-of-way men. They attempted to influence your committee to accept a basis of settlement which would have meant an unconditional surrender, a disgraceful surrender, and an admission upon the part of your committee that maintenance-of-way men are too ignorant to be dealt with in the same manner as the officials deal with other classes of their employes.

When the conciliation committee called upon me, I reviewed the work of your committee during its stay in Montreal. They then requested me to furnish them with a proposition showing what I considered to be a fair basis of settlement for the maintenance-of-way men. In compliance with their request, I presented them with a copy of the schedule prepared by your committee, and which was handed to the general manager in April last, at the same time informing them that I believed the men were entitled to all they were asking—and a great deal more. I then suggested that they secure a similar document from the president of the C. P. R. company, after which we would accept them as sole arbitrators, trusting to their honor, their sense of justice, their ability to determine what is right, and their courage to do what is right.

Through the kindness of a member of one of the other Orders, a copy of the conciliation committee's report has been received. According to its contents, the conciliation committee recommended terms of settlement which, I believe, would be fair to both parties to the controversy, as follows:

WHAT THE CONCILIATION MEN THOUGHT FAIR WHEN FREE TO THINK FOR THEMSELVES.

1st. Every man who has gone out on strike, or who has voted to strike, or who has been discharged for refusing to take the place of a striker, to be reinstated without prejudice.

2nd. The company to recognize and deal with the properly authorized committees of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America employed on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

3rd. All matters relating to the conditions of service and compensation therefor to be adjusted by an impartial and practical body of men mutually agreeable to parties interested within.....days.

According to their report, they also sent the following letter to President Shaughnessy:

T. G. Shaughnessy, Esq., President C. P. Ry.

"Dear Sir—During our conference with you on Friday p. m., you requested us to be as frank in our conversation as you had been with us, and, as both the Trackmen's Association and yourself have consented to accept our services as conciliation committee, we feel at liberty to talk plainly on the subject.

As representatives of organized labor, we are naturally guided to a certain extent by precedents, and by making proposition as basis of settlement, we felt that we were asking only for the trackmen what other organizations had been granted.

We, as a committee, fully appreciate that the welfare of the organizations we represent largely depends upon the success of the company by whom we are employed.

Our intention is to do what we consider in the best interests of the company and the employes.

Owing to the fact that accidents have occurred in close proximity to where watchmen are located, and the possibility that these conditions may grow worse, notwithstanding all efforts the company may make to guard the track and make the conditions of service of our members secure, we feel that emergencies may arise which may compel

our members, from considerations of personal safety, to decline any longer to perform their usual duties, notwithstanding that they desire to be loyal to their agreements with the company.

The contracts between the company and our members are for service under normal conditions, and should the extra risks due to the present conditions compel them to decline to perform their usual duties, our organization would feel that they should not be subjected to discipline or financial loss.

In view of the above facts, and the complications that may arise, we would be glad if the company would see its way clear to accept of the first two clauses of basis of settlement recommended by us, and should they see fit to do so, we would be prepared to consider any restrictions or conditions that they might think necessary to impose on the trackmen for the protection of the company's interests in the future.

The committee will be pleased to meet you at your convenience on Monday.

Yours respectfully, CHAS. POPE, Chairman.
W. H. ALLISON, Secretary.

The president of the C. P. R. company and myself were dropped out of the negotiations altogether.

The conciliation committee then attempted to effect a settlement between the general manager and your committee. The basis of settlement proposed by the general manager, and recommended by the conciliation committee, is as follows:—

WHAT THE CONCILIATION MEN THOUGHT FAIR WHEN TOLD BY A GENERAL MANAGER HOW TO THINK.

Montreal, 13th August, 1901.

The second vice-president and general manager will approve circular setting out the rates of pay for trackmen, in accordance with his letter of June 12th, and also reciting rules and regulations governing the employment and service of the trackmen, and at the end of one year from this date, if the trackmen of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have effected a responsible and workable organization, the company will meet a committee and grant them a schedule; provided, however, that such schedule shall only apply to foremen and first and second men of one year's standing in the company's service, and neither the schedule nor any of its conditions shall apply to others employed either on section work or on extra gangs, nor shall any committee representing the organization at any time interfere, or attempt to interfere with the relations between the company and employes in its maintenance-of-way department, to whom the said schedule will not apply as above set forth.

The company will re-instate all men in their respective positions, provided such positions have not been filled under promise of permanency during the absence of strikers. In the case of positions having been filled, the company will give such remaining men preference in filling other similar positions as near to their old location as possible. This clause not applicable to those who have been guilty of violence.

The fact that men have been engaged in the strike shall not prejudice their positions once they are restored to the service.

The company will always be glad to meet any committee of its employes, whether engaged in the maintenance-of-way or any other department, for the purpose of discussing suggestions calculated to remove any disadvantages under which the men may labor, or to promote the interests of the company.

(Signed) D. McNICOLL,
Second Vice-Pres. & General Mgr.

Mr. CHARLES POPE, Chairman Conciliation Committee, Montreal.
1 Enc.

To be Embodied in the Rules and Regulations.

13. Employes suspended or discharged will have the right of appeal from the decision of their immediate superiors. (Signed) D. McN.

The next day (August 14th) according to the conciliation committee's report, the following letter was received:

Montreal, 14th August, 1901.

Dear Sir:—Agreeable to your suggestion, I will include,

All section men in yards who take second men's rating, among those to whom the

schedule referred to in my memo to you of 13th August, may be made applicable.

I will add to Rule 4, the following:—

Where lamps are located at a distance from trackmen's residence, they will be attended to in regular working hours.

I will also insert following notice in circulars of rules and rates:—

"Above rules and rates will not be changed without thirty days' notice."

Yours truly,

D. McNICOLL,
Second Vice-Pres. & General Mgr.

Mr. CHARLES POPE, Chairman Conciliation Committee, Montreal.

The basis of settlement proposed by the conciliation committee to the president of the C. P. Ry. was not made known to the maintenance-of-way men's representatives, nor did we know anything about their sending the above letter to President Shaughnessy, until after they had left Montreal.

The above shows conclusively that until the general manager arrived in Montreal the members of the conciliation committee were desirous of effecting a fair and an honorable settlement between the company and the men, after which time, it seems, they lost control of themselves and did all in their power to carry out his instructions, notwithstanding their pledge to try and effect a fair and proper settlement.

Their demanding that I should leave town within twenty-four hours is of little concern to me. I did not come to Montreal at their solicitation, nor do I intend to leave the city at their request. I came here in obedience to the demands of the members of our own organization, and propose to remain here and serve them to the best of my ability.

The representative of the B. of R. T. declined to sanction the report of the conciliation committee.

We have received a letter from a correspondent in Rat Portage, advising us that the general chairman of the O. R. C. was deposed at a meeting held in that town a few days ago, and another representative chosen to take his place, who was instructed to pull the Order out of the disgraceful hole into which it had been placed through the action of its general chairman.

The members of the joint protective boards of the other Orders have arrived in Montreal. We do not know what course they will pursue.

Pay no attention to any one who attempts to make you believe that your representatives in Montreal are unreasonable. Our proposal to submit the case to impartial arbitration will convince all fair-minded men that we are NOT UNREASONABLE.

We have at all times been anxious to make a fair and honorable settlement with the company, but, at the same time, THERE WILL BE NO DISGRACEFUL SURRENDER UPON OUR PART.

If the members of the other Orders aid us in effecting a fair and honorable settlement, their services will be appreciated; but if they attempt to brow-beat us into accepting such terms as were proposed by the general manager, and recommended by the conciliation committee a few days ago, their recommendations will be rejected and the strike will be continued indefinitely.

We are not asking for mercy; we are contending for justice. Our people are industrious, self-respecting men; they want work under fair conditions, and if they cannot obtain it from one employer, it can be obtained from another.

The C. P. R. will sustain a greater loss in doing without your services than you will in seeking employment elsewhere. In fact, the maintenance-of-way men on the system will win in the contest if they do not defeat themselves by returning to work before a fair settlement is reached.

Do not be surprised if you hear of the joint protective boards of some of the other Orders indorsing the company's actions towards the trackmen. It is not an uncommon thing for some people to sharpen their tools on their neighbor's grindstone. Yours in B. L. & U.,

JOHN T. WILSON, President B. R. T. of A.

About this time P. H. Morrissey, grand master of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, arrived in Montreal and called upon the president of the B. R. T. of A. at the Grand Union Hotel. After perusing the basis of settlement proposed by the vigilance committee, he said he did not believe they expected the maintenance-of-way men's representatives would accept such terms as were offered by the manager and recommended by them, and advised the writer not to contend for very much in the way of increased wages for the maintenance-of-way men. "Twelve years ago," he said, "members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen on the C. P. Ry. system only received $1.10 a day, and were often required to work all day and half the night, and it was about two years after they secured recognition before their wages were increased very much." He contended that if the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Ry. would not stick together and perfect their organization with the understanding that there would be a general revision of the wage schedule in six months, or a year, they were not capable of self-government and unworthy of the protection of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America.

After holding a conference with the C. P. Ry. officials, the board of adjustment of the B. R. T. called on the maintenance-of-way men's committee and stated that if the committee would send the following letter to the manager, the terms of settlement proposed therein would be accepted:

If the Canadian Pacific Railway company will agree to reinstate within two weeks men who quit work, and who have not been guilty of violence, and who offer for work at once, in the positions and dwellings they were in prior to 17th June, it being understood that some readjustment of sections may be necessary to do this to carry out promises of permanency to other hands; and further,

If the company will agree to give us a schedule at the end of six months, instead of one year, on the terms and conditions as set out in Mr. McNicoll's letters of 13th, 14th and 17th August, 1901, to the chairman of the conciliation committee, and to carry out the other conditions in said letters, the committee of Canadian Pacific trackmen, of which I am the chairman, will immediately call off strike.

The terms of the above letter were not considered satisfactory, and the following letter was prepared and handed to the chairman of the board of adjustment of the B. R. T.:

Montreal, August 29, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: A letter prepared by you, and presented to me by Mr. T. J.

Coughlin, chairman of the board of adjustment, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Canadian Pacific Railway, pertaining to the calling off of the strike of the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway, for my signature, does not meet with the approval of the members of our committee.

Referring to the first paragraph of said letter which reads as follows:

If the Canadian Pacific Railway Company will agree to re-instate within two weeks men who quit work, and who have not been guilty of violence, and who offer for work at once, in the positions and dwellings they were in prior to 17th June, it being understood that some readjustment of sections may be necessary to do this to carry out promises of permanency to other hands.

This is, we believe, as much as we could expect under the circumstances, so far as reinstating the men is concerned.

Your proposition pertaining to the reinstatement of the men is, practically, the adoption of the first clause of the basis of settlement proposed by the general chairmen of the B. L. E., O. R. C., B. L. F., and O. R. T. The basis of settlement proposed by them (the general chairmen) was not made known to us until Friday of last week (August 23rd), when we received a copy of the conciliation committee's report through the courtesy of a member of one of the Orders.

The basis of settlement proposed by the conciliation committee, according to their report, dated August 19th, 1901, is as follows:

1st. Every man who has gone out on strike, or who has voted to strike, or who has been discharged for refusing to take the place of a striker, to be reinstated without prejudice.

2nd. The company to recognize and deal with the properly authorized committees of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America employed on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

3rd. All matters relating to the conditions of service and compensation therefor to be adjusted by an impartial and practical body of men mutually agreeable to parties interested within.....days.

In a letter commenting upon the basis of settlement proposed by the general chairmen of the other Orders, over the signatures of Chas. Pope, chairman, and W. H. Allison, secretary, and addressed to President Shaughnessy, according to their report, they state:

As representatives of organized labor we are naturally guided to a certain extent by precedents, and by making proposition as basis of settlement, we felt that we were asking only for the trackmen what other organizations had been granted.

Now that we have practically agreed upon the first clause of the basis of settlement proposed by the conciliation committee, our committee will accept the other two clauses, or, in other words, we will accept the basis of settlement proposed by the conciliation committee in its entirety, as above set forth, if the company will do likewise.

The strike has lasted entirely too long. The public, the company, and the men are all suffering on account of it. The public has filed complaints with us, and we suppose the company has received more complaints of a similar nature than we have.

If the strike is called off at once it will take our very best efforts to put the track in proper condition to handle the fall and winter traffic with safety before the snow begins to fall.

Therefore, being interested in the welfare of the company and the rights of the public, as well as ourselves, we will cheerfully accept any basis of settlement that seems to us to be fair and honorable to both the company and the maintenance-of-way men. Yours truly,

J. LENNON, Chairman of Committee.

The general manager replied as follows:

Montreal, 29th August, 1901.

Mr. J. Lennon, Grand Union Hotel, Montreal.

Dear Sir: I acknowledge receipt of your letter of 29th August. I will not deal with the inaccurate statements contained therein, one of which Mr. Coughlin advised me he drew your attention to, but will simply express my regret that you have seen fit to reject the recommendation of the committee of trainmen, who, I know, have been conscientiously laboring in your behalf.

Yours truly,

D. McNICOLL, Second Vice-President and General Manager.

The chairman of the committee replied as follows:

Montreal, August 29, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: In preparing a letter for you this morning, and acknowledging receipt of a letter, or rather a memo., presented to me by Mr. T. J. Coughlin, chairman of the board of adjustment of the B. of R. T., I understood that the memo. had been prepared by you.

In your letter this afternoon, you state you will not deal with the "inaccurate statements contained therein."

Will you please define what you consider "inaccurate statements"?

If you desire a settlement of the strike of the maintenance-of-way men on the Canadian Pacific Railway, will you please reduce to writing the terms of settlement you are willing to make, making the terms as clear as possible, so there will be no misunderstanding about the matter. Yours truly,

J. LENNON, Chairman of Committee.

On the evening of August 29 the members of the board of adjustment of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the maintenance-of-way men's committee held a session. After discussing and deliberating upon the different phases of the situation the following letter was agreed upon, and next morning (August 30) it was presented to the general manager by the chairman of the board of adjustment of the B. R. T.:

Grand Union Hotel, Montreal, August 30, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry. Co.

Dear Sir: If the Canadian Pacific Railway Company will agree to reinstate within two weeks all men who quit work, and who have not been guilty of violence, and who offer for work at once, in the positions and dwellings they were in prior to 17th June, it being understood that some readjustment of sections may be necessary to do this to carry out promises of permanency to other hands; and further,

If the company will agree to give us a schedule at the end of six months, instead of one year, on the terms and conditions as set out in Mr. McNicoll's letters of 13th, 14th and 17 August, 1901, to the chairman of the conciliation committee and to carry out the other conditions in said letters.

The committee of Canadian Pacific trackmen, of which I am the chairman, will immediately call off strike.

JOSEPH LENNON, Chairman of Committee.

The general manager replied as follows:

Montreal, 30th August, 1901.

Mr. Joseph Lennon, Chairman Trackmen's Committee.

Dear Sir: I accept the proposition contained in your letter to me of this date, and hereby agree to reinstate within two weeks all men who quit work, and who have not been guilty of violence, and who offer for work at once, in the positions and dwellings they were in prior to the 17th June, it being understood that some readjustment of sections may be necessary to do this to carry out promises of permanency to other hands.

I further agree to give the trackmen a schedule at the end of six months instead of one year, on the terms and conditions as set forth in my letters of 13th, 14th and 17th of August, 1901, to the chairman of the conciliation committee, and to carry out the other conditions in said letters.

I now understand that your committee will at once, in accordance with your letter above referred to, call the strike off. Yours truly,

D. McNICOLL, Second Vice-President and General Manager.

The following letter was sent to Mr. McNicoll:

Montreal, August 30, 1901.

Mr. D. McNicoll, Second Vice-President and General Manager, C. P. Ry.

Dear Sir: Your favor of even date received notifying us that our proposition setting forth the conditions on which the strike of maintenance-of-way men would be declared off, was accepted by you.

An official notice of the strike being declared off is now in the hands of the printer, and will be sent out by mail as soon as possible.

Please accept our thanks for the concessions you have made.

Your agreement to reinstate all men who have not been guilty of crime in the positions and dwellings they were in prior to 17th of June, is, the committee considers, very generous.

We assure you that our best endeavors will be put forth to encourage the men to render faithful service, and work for the promotion of the interest of the company. Yours truly,

J. LENNON, Chairman of Maintenance-of-Way Men's Com.

The manager replied as follows:

Montreal, 31st August, 1901.

Mr. Joseph Lennon, Grand Union Hotel, Montreal.

Dear Sir: I have your letter of 30th August, and am pleased to have your assurances.

Before you leave town I would like to have a conversation with you.

Yours truly, D. McNICOLL.

The following message was then prepared by the maintenance-of-way men's committee and forwarded to the manager with authority for it to be sent to all maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Ry. system, over the signature of the chairman of the trackmen's committee:

An agreement has been reached between your committee and the general manager. The strike is declared off. Official notice by mail. All hands may report for duty at once. J. LENNON, Chairman of Committee.

About 2:30 p. m. on the afternoon of August 30 the following notice to resume work was prepared and given to the printer:

Montreal, August 30, 1901.

To all Maintenance-of-Way Men on the C. P. Ry.:

Your committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Railway system, and the general manager have reached an agreement by which all men not guilty of crime are to be reinstated in their former positions and dwellings within two weeks, without prejudice.

The strike is hereby declared off.

You are hereby instructed to report for duty at once.

Let us convince the officials by faithful and efficient service that we are entitled to the recognition received, and to be dealt with in the same manner other classes of their employes are dealt with.

The basis of settlement, with a full explanation will be sent to all concerned as soon as possible.

[Seal] J. LENNON, Chairman.

VOTE OF THANKS.

Montreal, September 2, 1901.

To the Members of the Board of Adjustment of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: The members of the joint protective board of the maintenance-of-way department employes on the Canadian Pacific Railway beg to tender you a hearty vote of thanks for the efficient service rendered by your board in our struggle.

Wishing you every success.

Yours fraternally,

J. LENNON, Chairman Committee.
A. F. STOUT, Secretary Committee.

DEFENDANTS, BONDSMEN AND ATTORNEY IN FAMOUS LIBEL CASE.

Reading from left to right, those standing are P. D. Hamel, bondsman; A. F. Stout, secretary; S. J. Granger, bondsman; C. Sevay, bondsman. Those sitting are Jos. Lennon, Chairman; John T. Wilson, president, and R. E. A. Greenshields, attorney.

CHAPTER XII.

LETTERS, RESOLUTIONS AND COMMENTS.

To enable the reader of this volume to more fully comprehend the situation growing out of the strike of the maintenance-of-way employes of the C. P. Ry. the character of the opposition which had to be overcome and the extent to which C. P. Ry. influence dominated the opinions of certain newspapers and certain self-styled public-spirited citizens, the author reproduces a number of letters, resolutions, interviews, extracts from press comments, etc., both favorable and unfavorable to the maintenance-of-way men's representatives and the president of the B. R. T. of A. They relate, in a large measure, to the recommendations of the conciliation committee and their rejection by the committee representing the trackmen:

From all that is coming out, President Wilson of the International Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen seems to be little better than a criminal in regard to his conduct in connection with the strike of the C. P. R. trackmen.

He promoted a strike of men who were getting more pay than men doing the same work on other Canadian railways. The fact was admitted in a circular issued by the trackmen's committee.

He made no attempt to get arbitration, and two days after the strike began he refused to agree to arbitration, saying it was too late.

He allowed representatives of the other railway labor unions to act as a conciliation committee, then influenced the strikers to repudiate the conciliation committee's finding and recommendation.

If President Wilson, who comes from across the line, were a fair sample of the American labor agitator, no wonder would need to be felt at exhibitions of folly or jaundice in labor troubles there.—Ottawa Journal.

A professional labor man came over from the United States and brought on a strike among the trackmen of the C. P. R., a railway which paid its trackmen the highest scale in Canada. The strike lasted several months and then a conciliation committee representing some of the other union men in the railway's employ took a hand to settle it. The committee found that the professional labor man was obstructing a settlement and refused to go on until he ceased interfering. Then the conciliation committee settled the whole trouble with neatness and despatch. The trackmen have got their union recognized and practically all they were wanting, which causes the Citizen to again point out to Canada Unionists that it is perhaps not always in their best interests to strike because an ambitious embryo Eugene V. Debs comes over here to try his prentice hand in managing a strike. Only for Wilson we believe the trackmen would have got what they wanted without a strike. Nine times out of ten employers will deal in a more amicable spirit with their men, where the interposition of an imported agitator will increase instead of allaying friction.—Ottawa Citizen.

"The trackmen haven't a leg to stand on." That's what the company says.

"We stand pat; and are awaiting arbitration. Wilson won't go," says a maintenance-of-way man.

Thus may the situation be summed up today.

"I think the conciliation committee have been very fair to both sides," remarked Mr. McNicoll, second vice-president and general manager, today. "We accepted them, have accepted their decision, and are willing to abide by it. From the nature of their complaint it is quite evident that they have located where the difficulty rests (meaning the president of the B. R. T. of A.), and they are endeavoring to remove it outside the city."

"Is the strike impeding traffic?"

"No, we are taking care of all that comes along. We have yet to see the day when we are going to lie down to anything of this nature. We have moved 20,000 laborers for the harvest, the greatest activity prevails all along the road out west and what with special excursions and special trains with threshers, we are having a busy time of it."

"What is the situation this morning?" Mr. Wilson, president of the B. R. T. of A., was asked. "What will be your next move?"

"Our committee consider the demand made by the conciliation committee that the president of their organization be repudiated an insult and have passed a resolution ignoring it altogether. The ball fired at us by the conciliation committee was in our opinion fixed up by the general manager of the C. P. R. A great many of the employes of the railway company wear corporation collars. They are like soldiers; they obey all orders received from a superior officer in matters of this kind. When justice is at stake they do not possess enough courage to call their souls their own. The corporation boss cracks his whip and they jump. An attempt was made by the general manager to use the general chairmen of the other orders with a view to defeat the trackmen some time ago. He met three of them at Winnipeg and they agreed upon a plan which they thought would settle the strike without hearing the men's side of the case. Two of the general chairmen did not participate in that conference. They seemed to take offence at being ignored, and demanded that an official meeting should be held in Montreal. This I know to be true because I dictated the messages and letters that brought them here. We think they have done good work for the trackmen."

"It is rumored that two of your men are not in harmony with your action."

"The committee stands pat."

"What is your next move?"

"We are awaiting an answer to our communication asking for arbitration, and are here to stay."

"It must be costing some money?"

"We are in no way hampered for funds. When we are, we only have to make another assessment. None of our men are suffering. All of them who desire are working."

"On the C. P. R.?"

"No, in the fields at the harvest, and on other roads; not a man is suffering and we have all the money we require."—Montreal Star.

Disappointment will be felt that the conciliation committee failed to find a satisfactory solution of the differences between the authorities of the Cana-

dian Pacific Railway and its trackmen. The public would have welcomed a settlement on any basis that would have been accepted by both sides, for it goes without saying that the prolonged struggle must entail suffering to the men and their families, besides impairing the efficiency of the railways at a time when the public interest demands that it should be specially efficient. The terms offered by the railway company and recommended by the conciliators for acceptance by the strikers were that they should return to work on the basis of Mr. McNicoll's terms, laid down on the 12th of June last, and a year hence, if by that time the men have formed a "responsible and workable organization," the company will meet a committee thereof and grant a schedule. It is provided, however, that the schedule when made shall only apply to foremen and first and second men of one year's standing in the company's service. The terms were also accompanied by the extraordinary request that Mr. Wilson, the president of the Trackmen's Association, who has hitherto directed the strike, should leave Montreal within 24 hours.

There is really not much use discussing the terms because the concluding condition is such a remarkable one that it occupies the whole front of the stage.

If Mr. Wilson has done anything to forfeit the confidence of those on behalf of whom he has put up so strenuous a fight, the news has not yet reached the general public. Until he has done so, it would be impolitic, to phrase it mildly, for the men to allow him to be sacrificed to appease those whose hostility he has incurred in their service. It is not necessary to say much about it, for the men have promptly refused to repudiate and humiliate their chief, and they are to be honored for doing so. The committee of conciliation was composed of the chairmen of the various organizations of employes on the railway, and in recommending terms accompanied by such a remarkable proviso they must have expected that they would be required to publicly explain why they did so. Some one or more persons must make themselves prominent in conducting a strike, but if strikers allow their leaders to be singled out for punishment, it would soon be very difficult to get men to offer themselves up in sacrifice.

As to the terms offered the men, the public would doubtless be pleased if they saw their way to accepting them, but we can scarcely wonder if they are not particularly struck with their generosity. All that they would gain by their summer-long struggle would be a guarded promise that a year hence the company would recognize a union composed of a portion of the trackmen and would treat with a committee representing it respecting wages. Without presuming to judge between the men and the company we feel sure that the general opinion will be that the company is certainly not disposed to concede much. The public interest is suffering and is likely to suffer more by reason of this strike; the men are prepared to submit their case to fair arbitration and we certainly think that the company should accept that proposal.

The men will go to work as soon as that proposal is accepted and await at their posts the result of the arbitration, and accept it loyally whatever it may be.—Toronto Globe.

The World is glad to see that the Globe is also with the striking trackmen of the C. P. R. Where the Montreal Star is we do not know—probably under the Windsor Station. (C. P. R. headquarters.)

Why the chief executive of the Trackmen's Union should be repudiated and ordered to leave Montreal by the representatives of the Associated Brotherhoods has not yet been made clear, either to the public or to the trackmen themselves. But there are people who suspect treachery and, what goes with treachery—bribery.

It is only since this strike began that the public have learned what an important part of the railway organization the trackmen really are. On them devolves the duty of inspecting the roadbed and maintaining it in such a shape as to ensure the public safety. The C. P. R. says they have men enough to do the work of the strikers, but the number of accidents that have recently been reported is not consistent with this statement. As a matter of fact the roadbed of the C. P. R. is in a very bad shape; so much so that all sensible people are avoiding the line, although it is said all such people formerly patronized it. Not only do the men perform a very responsible duty, but a considerable amount of skill is necessary in the discharge of their duties. The C. P. R. has recently found out the ordinary unskilled laborer cannot be entrusted to perform the work of the trackmen. He must be trained for the work. We think, therefore, that the trackmen are fully justified in asking for better pay and for the recognition of their union, just as the trainmen, the firemen, the engineers, the conductors, the telegraphers have been recognized. That they are willing to have their claims left to arbitration shows that they believe in the justice of their demands.

Mr. McNicoll, Mr. Shaughnessy and the directors are determined to beat the men at any price.

The result is that the C. P. R. is becoming demoralized; that travellers are going by the American Pacific routes, that the chief officers of the road will not ride over their own line at night.

We have heard before of what is called an American-Irish slave-driving spirit getting possession of the C. P. R., manifesting itself at one time in the Crow's Nest construction, at another time in the East, and now in the way the harvesters sent to the Northwest are treated.

Mr. Shaughnessy and Mr. McNicoll should be above this, and Mr. Osler as a director should not allow himself to be made a party to it.

The first thing the C. P. R. knows the Duke of York will be advised to cancel his trip to the Coast.

Hasn't it about reached a stage when the government should interfere?—Toronto World.

The developments of the past week in the trackmen's strike situation have been of great interest to organized labor. Following our announcement from Montreal in the last issue, that the chairmen of the railway brotherhoods had been accepted as sole arbitrators in the matter, came the news of the rejection of their most outrageous recommendation by the trackmen's committee. The acceptance of representatives of five organizations as arbitrators we thought settled the question of recognition of the trackmen. Men who were themselves the officers of such brotherhoods could not arbitrate whether or not another should be recognized; as far as they were concerned that must be taken for granted. But it appears that they were only conciliating and their recommendation was, very properly, promptly rejected. It included, in part, this proposition: That men who had been on strike for eight weeks and had surprised

everybody with their power and ability to act as a brotherhood, should return to work and give the company one year to shatter their organization piecemeal, they having no protection. If any survived they could strike next year; if none were left, why the object of the company would be attained. It reminds one of the tale of the young lady who went for a ride on a tiger. The trackmen have done so well that they deserve to win or to be beaten while still fighting. The proposition that was put before them was similar to capital punishment of a very troublesome subject in China; they invite him to commit suicide. The trackmen were invited to do likewise; to get off the earth and relieve the situation.

Although there is lots of track news of which we print a great deal, this only takes secondary place. Interest is centered in Montreal where there is a great gathering of brotherhood men. The Pacific division took steps early to ensure that its position should be known, and sent down a division representation of every brotherhood to press for a settlement "with" the trackmen, not "of" them. Other divisions have now representatives on the spot independent of the general chairmen. On Monday night last an important joint meeting of all railway brotherhoods was held in Winnipeg. No information is given out, but it is known that the meeting was almost unanimous, and that important issues were discussed must be gathered from the fact that during the week a referendum vote had been taken of the men who could not attend the meeting.

The statements by railway officials that the strike is practically over and the track is in good shape are silly in the extreme. They have quite a lot of men working, those that they imported, and others they got to pay their own fares by the excursion method, but they are no good as trackmen and without foremen can do little more than cut the weeds. On one division east of the city they have about sixty men but not a single foreman, and so, of course, a nearly distracted roadmaster. If one of these officials ever publishes all he knows about this strike it will be a revelation to the public. Special constables, secret service men, spotters, cross reports, and general distrust, equalling any preconceived notions of Russian methods are the order of the day.—Winnipeg Voice.

The general committee of the C. P. R. trackmen now on strike meets in secret session; the representatives of the various orders of trainmen hold mysterious seances; railway men flit in and out, and group themselves together and whisper, and there is an air of mystery, and the Grand Union Hotel is an exceedingly busy center these days. One hears it said that the representatives of the train orders who are in session have demanded the presence of their grand officers, which might mean a great deal; that the Laurier Government is disposed to intervene to have the strike settled before the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall; that something decisive may be expected before long.

Indeed, the hotel is a sort of whispering gallery. One group of railway men eyes the other with distrust; two men are in the corner; a trio have their heads together in the center of the rotunda; and over all is the sense of expectancy.

Mr. Wilson said to-day that things were lovely. They were nearing the goal of their desires. It would be an immense gain both for capital and labor if they could bring pressure to bear upon the C. P. R. so as to induce the com-

pany to consent to arbitration. Arbitration was what they were aiming at, and it was what they would obtain. The C. P. R. was perhaps the greatest railway corporation in the world. If that company could be induced to say that it did not claim to make all the law itself; that labor had a voice and human rights; and that it was willing to arbitrate differences between itself and the men who helped it to create its wealth—why, that would be of such an educational character that it would sound the death knell of strikes. For if the C. P. R. arbitrated differences every other smaller organization must follow suit. And the C. P. R. would offer arbitration. Of that he was convinced. Events were moving in that direction. Mr. McNicoll probably did not fully understand the strength of the forces which were against him. He could not be explicit, but certain things were in process of development. For himself, he had no doubt as to the issue. The men were not wanting a great deal. They wanted fair play. They wanted a living wage. They wanted reasonable terms of service, so that they might know where they stood. This strike was intended to be educational in its effects. The moment arbitration was conceded, he would bend every energy to the bringing about of the most cordial relations between employes and employer. He had no revoluntionary ideas to impose upon the men. The strike could have been conducted in such a way that within twenty-four hours from its inception, the whole of the C. P. R. could have been blocked and obstructed. On the contrary, it was conducted in an honorable manner. There had been no disturbance. There had been no acts of violence. The men were respectable, law-abiding citizens. Their case was unanswerable. As for himself, he remained to see that justice was done. He had no other object in view. He was the representative of plain people, and he desired to stand by them to the end.

Mr. Wilson said that the general committee and himself approved of the following circular, which had been issued by Mr. Lowe, the vice-president of the order.

Montreal, August 20, 1901.

To the Citizens of Canada:

The report of the general chairmen of the other orders who were supposed to represent employes in other departments on the C. P. Railway is very unjust to the trackmen who are struggling for a fair share of the wealth they help to create, and an honorable settlement.

Their contention that the settlement proposed by the general manager is a fair one will, no doubt, be questioned by all fair-minded men.

During the telegraphers' strike in 1896 a similar basis of settlement was proposed by the company to the conciliation committee, who were trying to effect a settlement between the company and the telegraphers. In commenting upon it in their report, the following paragraph appears:

"We saw at once that this proposition would never be accepted by the telegraphers for the reason that it left practically little protection for a great number of the striking operators and agents and provided that men employed during the existence of the strike were considered permanent employes and should be retained in their service in preference to men who have gone out on strike."

The gentlemen who were acting as conciliators had too much respect for the grand officers and the committee representing the telegraphers, to even present the terms proposed by the company to them, and in lieu thereof they prepared what they considered a fair basis of settlement, which was accepted by both parties to the controversy.

The grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen, with the consent of the committee representing the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. R., has proposed to sumbit the differences between the company and the men to impartial arbitration. That should convince all fair-minded people that our president is not in the employ of competing transportation companies, and that if our committee have made unreasonable demands upon the company, they are willing to abide by impartial arbitration.

Instead of weakening our position, the report of the conciliation committee will strengthen it. As to the insult offered to our president, demanding that he should leave Montreal within twenty-four hours, this simply increases our confidence in him, and we take it as a compliment paid to his intelligence and ability to correctly advise the committee. Messages and letters are being received from members of the Order on all parts of the system assuring our president that he will have the continued support and confidence of the men. Why the conciliation committee recommended unconditional surrender upon the part of the trackmen is a question I will not attempt to answer. Every Brotherhood man I have met is indignant over the action taken by the general chairmen, and especially at the insult offered through them to President Wilson. If they were influenced to take such a course by the general manager, I predict he will discover in a short time that he has created a "boomerang" for himself. The end is not yet by any means. The full protective board of Railway Trainmen is in Montreal, and members of the other Orders are arriving on every train. It is reasonable to suppose that as soon as the facts in the case are known such steps will be taken as may be necessary to afford protection to their lives, and the lives of the traveling public.

I have just returned from a trip out West. I went as far as Brandon, and traveled over all the branches of the C. P. R. system in Manitoba, and found but two foremen, who were at work on June 16th—before the strike became effective—at work. Not a single section man is at work. The foremen have all left the section-houses of the company in Manitoba. The men informed me they would not return to work until instructed to do so by their chairman under the seal of the Grand Division.

I have raised a family in Canada by honest, hard work; am a citizen of Canada and take a deep interest in all that pertains to the welfare of my country. Therefore I appeal to all honest citizens to aid us in our efforts to secure a fair and honorable settlement with the C. P. Railway company.

A. B. LOWE,
Grand Vice-President.
—Montreal Daily Witness.

At a meeting of the citizens of the town of Fort William, held in the Town Hall, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, There has been practically no work done on the line of railway and roadbed of the Canadian Pacific Railway for over four weeks, and same is now and has been in such a condition that numerous accidents and delays to the traveling public, trains, and mails, have already happened, and traffic is thereby being diverted over United States Railways, and lives and property at present passing over the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's railway are imperiled thereby; and,

WHEREAS, We, the citizens of the town of Fort William in public meeting assembled, think the time has come when the government should interfere to protect lives and property of such as go over said railway, and secure to people, proper, safe and regular service for passengers, freight, mails, and express over said road; and,

WHEREAS, Large numbers of alien laborers are daily being brought in to do the work of striking trackmen along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway from foreign countries in contravention of the alien labor law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the citizens of the town of Fort William in public meeting assembled do hereby protest against same and request the government to forthwith investigate and enforce said alien labor law.

At a union meeting held at North Bay, July 25th, 1901, by B. L. E., B. L. F., O. R. C., O. R. T. and B. R. T., circular from chairmen of boards of conciliation of aforenamed organizations was read and the following resolutions were adopted and forwarded to grand officers:

WHEREAS, Owing to the inability of our chairmen of joint boards of conciliation to effect a settlement of trackmen's strike and deciding to remain neutral,

RESOLVED, That we appeal to our grand officers to act at once with a view to a settlement of existing grievances between trackmen and company and protection to the members of our organization;

RESOLVED, That owing to failure of chairmen of joint boards of conciliation to act according to instructions sent them in form of resolutions adopted by the aforenamed organizations that they be notified that we do not consider their actions proper protection for the members of our organizations and we have appealed to our grand officers.

The following were unanimously adopted by citizens of Smith's Falls, Ont., August 3, 1901:

WHEREAS, The president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen made it clear in his address at this meeting, that the main cause of the trouble between the C. P. R. and its maintenance-of-way men is the refusal upon the part of the company to concede them the right to have anything to say pertaining to the conditions of their employment; and,

WHEREAS, This privilege has not been denied to any other class of their employes; and

WHEREAS, Subject to the recognition of their Society, the maintenance-of-way men are and always have been willing to have the terms and conditions of their agreement with the company (if necessary) fixed by impartial arbitration; and,

WHEREAS, The present state of affairs is to be deplored, the track, of necessity, being out of repair, not having been looked after properly by experienced men, traffic impeded, accidents frequent, and a continuation of the friction naturally resulting in bringing closer a crisis which would be regretted by all. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, as citizens of Smith's Falls, assembled at this meeting, and desirous that the present trouble be terminated at once, do deplore the existing condition of affairs between the company and its striking trackmen.

RESOLVED, That we consider it only fair and in the interest of all concerned that the maintenance-of-way men be recognized and dealt with by the company in like manner as is the case with all other classes of their employes.

RESOLVED, That we decry the importation and employment by them of foreign laborers in breach of the alien labor law—men who contribute nothing to our country and who carry their earnings to the United States.

RESOLVED, That we consider that the said trackmen are entitled to our sympathy in their effort to place themselves upon an equal basis with other classes of workers.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the president of the C. P. Railway praying favorable consideration therefor.

RESOLVED, That if the company declines to meet the trackmen for the purpose of a settlement along the lines herein stated, as it is apparent that the roadbed has, through want of proper attention, become out of repair, and a continuation of the strike will naturally increase the complaint, that a copy

of these resolutions be forwarded to the Minister of Railways with a request that he take such steps as may be necessary to terminate the difficulty and restore the safety of travel.

The following resolution was adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Souris, Manitoba, August 15, 1901:

WHEREAS, The strike of the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. R. system having now lasted almost two months, and the track being in such notoriously bad condition that neither the lives of the traveling public nor those of the men handling the traffic are reasonably safe; and,

WHEREAS, Unless this strike is soon ended and the track put into working condition before our severe winter comes on, we view with alarm the prospect of unsafe railways with the extra heavy traffic that is in store for this coming fall and winter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the citizens of Souris, in the face of such public danger to life and property, desire that the Dominion Government exert its influence towards the ending of such a dangerous state of affairs.

Also, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, President Shaughnessy of the C. P. R., and President Wilson of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America.

The following letter, sent out from Vancouver under date of August 5, 1901, resulted in a vote to suspend work on the Pacific division unless the company made speedy settlement with its striking trackmen:

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE B. L. E., B. L. F., O. R. C., B. R. T., and O. R. T. —GREETING:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: At a meeting of the executive officers of the above orders for the Pacific Division it was decided to poll this division for an expression of opinion in regard to supporting the trackmen in their present strike.

The reason for this radical course is due to the fact that the C. P. R. are making strenuous efforts to beat the trackmen in their struggle for the recognition of their organization and a living wage, and using unlawful means to that end, also trying to pit one organization against another to the ultimate downfall of all.

This is in accordance with the well-known policy of the General Managers' Association, of which General Manager McNicoll is a member. So we take it as a challenge to organized labor when the trackmen are refused recognition in their demands, and it is anticipated that this will be followed by a further attempt being made to disrupt the older organizations on the same lines now being used against the trackmen.

The circular letter from our chairmen of the boards of adjustment at Winnipeg, wherein their good offices as a conciliation committee were refused by Manager McNicoll, shows very plainly, in our opinion, that the time has arrived, for us to do something substantial by sending a duly authorized representative from each of the orders on the Pacific Division as soon as the poll is secured, to confer with the general chairmen and to use most effective measures at once to terminate this strike, as the operation of trains is now becoming a source of danger to all trainmen.

Kindly record your vote, not particularly because you are personally in favor of assisting the trackmen in this their dark hour of adversity and trouble by a cessation of work, if necessary, but for the protection of your own organization by placing your bona fide signature below.

It has already been observed that the report of the vigilance committee was a deceptive document, gotten up for the purpose of aiding the officials in their efforts to make the maintenance-of-way men along the line believe their representatives in Montreal declined to make a fair and honorable settlement when they had the opportunity to do so. The vigilance committee attempted to prevent the trackmen's committee and the members of the board of adjustment of the B. R. T. from getting possession of a copy of their report. The writer met the chairman of the vigilance committee at the door of Mr. Bourdeau's printing office, and asked him if he would not furnish him with a copy of their report. He replied: "Yes, but it will not be ready for distribution for a day or two." Mr. Bourdeau heard him make the statement and informed the writer that the conciliation committee's work was delivered the day before.

According to reports received, the report of the vigilance committee, when placed in the hands of the C. P. Ry. officials, enabled them to create general dissatisfaction among the men, as it led many of the members of the B. R. T. of A. to believe that the basis of settlement proposed by the conciliation committee was turned down by the trackmen's representatives.

The following are samples of letters received expressing dissatisfaction:

I think the strike ought to be settled this week so we could return to work on Monday. I think Wilson made a terrible mistake when he left it to the chairmen of the other Orders and then did not accept a settlement. If there is nothing done this week there will be a number of men return to work, sure, and I think it is time something was done. Wilson is not the man for this business. The public is down on him.

I am surprised at the committee and Wilson for not accepting the advice of the conciliation committee. I think what they offered was fair to the trackmen. I think the committee had better send Wilson back where he came from. The company would have raised our wages long ago, had it not been for the interference of that American—Wilson. I am opposed to such men coming over here and getting us into trouble. Myself and men are going to work next week. We are not going to lose any more time on account of foreigners who have no interest in our welfare.

We have been ten weeks on strike and I think it is high time something was done. It is all very well for you to tell us to hold out, but we have not

done any work for the past ten weeks. You and the committee are living on the fat of the land, in a first-class hotel in Montreal, while we have to pay for it. You should have accepted what the company offered, and prevented all this trouble. My roadmaster told me he wanted me to go to work on Monday and if I did not it would be my last chance. Now I want you to settle this affair at once, or else go back where you came from. We don't want any Americans over here to run our business—we can do that ourselves. You promised us five dollars a week if we went on strike. I did not get a cent. I want you to send me fifty dollars at once, or I shall go to work on Monday.

There is a great deal of work yet to be done by the fool-killers.

The following letters were penned by loyal and courageous Unionists, and are in strong contrast with those above quoted:

Your letter of the 18th received, and I must say that I feel very sorry for Mr. McNicoll that he should have such a thorn in the flesh in the person of our Mr. Wilson. You can rest assured that we are not going to be out for ten weeks and then go back to work without some settlement. The majority of the Brotherhood men up here are greatly disappointed at the way things have come out in Montreal. They say something is radically wrong as their chairmen have not done as they were instructed to do before leaving for Montreal.

I understand that several more committeemen representing the other Brotherhoods have arrived in Montreal to try and bring on a settlement. We are watching things very closely. I can tell you we are having our time of temptation, just as well as other people.

Enclosed you will find a circular I received this morning from R. H. Lowe, which is a very nice "bluff," but it won't work. I wrote a number of the boys yesterday that there would be another "bluff" along in a short time, but to take no notice of it.

Here is another point; you can make out of it what you like. There are about 200 harvesters now in Moosejaw that cannot get employment and they have got no money to buy food with. On Tuesday last there was a cornerstone laid for one of the churches. In the evening they got all the harvesters together, gave them a good supper, and allowed them to sleep in the Town Hall that night. The superintendent got around them and told them they had no need to go idle as he would give them all the work they could do, but was informed by the men that they did not come here to "scab." Yours to the end of the war and after.

The following is the circular referred to in the foregoing letter as a "bluff":

Office of the Roadmaster,
Moosejaw, August 28, 1901.

To all old Foremen between Regina and Swift Current:

I have just received the following message from the Superintendent:

R. H. Lowe, Moosejaw.

Please note General Superintendent wires as follows: "Montreal advises large number of foremen whose positions have been permanently filled in East with new men, are now applying for positions in the West and wishes to know how many married and how many single foremen can be placed on this Division.

Mr. Milestone, Sup't wires:

I wish if possible to retain the services of all my old men but if they still remain out on strike send in statement showing number of married and single foremen required. Now that conciliation committee have left Montreal all hopes of a settlement is over. If men return they should understand they will be treated same as before strike, but they must decide at once. C. W. MILESTONE.

From R. H. Lowe.

I have seen a telegram addressed to roadmasters and agents the contents of which is that you would not accept the proposed agreement the chairmen of the other Orders decided upon. The telegrams stated that their services were at an end unless you would leave the city in twenty-four hours. I cannot understand what they mean by this, unless they are attempting to break up our organization and monopolize the benefits of organization for themselves. If our men stand firm we can gain the day independent of the chairmen of the other Orders. It is reported that the company offered trackmen $1.40, and foremen $1.90 per day, with recognition. The trainmen say you should have accepted it. For my part, recognition, every man reinstated in his former position, and a substantial increase in wages, is the least I would accept.

Hoping you success, and that you may long be at the head of our Order, I remain, ...

I have just heard of the insult offered to you as head of our Organization. I am proud that our committee treated the request of our so-called "conciliation committee," that you leave town within twenty-four hours, with contempt. Our boys all think you are a "brick" to stand by your guns so nobly. They say they will stand by you and committee till the last "dog is hung," if it takes weeks or months. We must win at any cost. We thoroughly appreciate your courage and determination to carry this thing through for our benefit and sympathize with you on account of the persecution to which you have been subjected by unscrupulous men and by the "press." Keep up your courage; our cause is just and, I believe, we will win out. Remember you have the sympathy of all fair-minded men, and the love and respect of those you are so nobly fighting and suffering for. My roadmaster came to me the other day and said I had better go back to work; that we were beaten, and that he considered our cause unjust. I told him that we were not beaten, and if ever there was a just cause in the world, ours was one. I also reminded him of his telling me some years ago, that trackmen were not getting enough pay; that they should get at the very least a dollar and a half a day. He admitted saying so. I then asked him why he had changed his mind. He did not answer, but walked away. It was a case of "I'm all right. Beggar you, Jack."

I think that the man who elects another to represent him and to sell his labor for him, and who deserts him when he is in a position where he cannot retreat honorably, is the basest kind of a coward.

Press on, Brother Wilson! There are no cowards around here and I believe they are scarce elsewhere on the system. We will sink or swim together.

The basis of settlement offered by the general manager and accepted by the conciliation committee shows them to be antagonistic to the Order; and to

add insult to injury they ordered you to leave Montreal in 24 hours. Only organized labor's vilest enemies would be guilty of such conduct. You stay right there, and we will stay by you and defend you with Winchesters if necessary. By all that is good or bad we will fight it to a finish, and I believe we can win. If we do not we shall not have anything to be ashamed of. I am sorry you are being persecuted in such a manner, but there is one consolation, you are a man of more brains than they possess, else they would not want you out of the way. In ordering you to leave town they offered a base insult to our Organization, and discredited themselves. I have more confidence in you to-day than I ever had before. I admire and respect you for not allowing even the so-called "conciliation committee" to bamboozle our committee, and cheat us out of our just rights. It is a God-send we have a man at the head of our organization who is able to cope with such tricksters. Three of our committeemen have gone back on us and are making statements that would not be made by any one who had any respect for the truth. I feel that our craft has been disgraced by having such men on the committee.

In reference to the amount of money Committeeman Frederick said has been spent, I will only say that very little of it was paid in by the C. P. R. boys. I only contributed $2.50 and I know many others who did not pay any more. Tell the remaining committeemen to stand firm and not disgrace themselves and our craft, as others have done.

I write to inform you of the bitter feeling prevalent amongst the members of the five Orders regarding the actions of their chairmen in turning themselves into a "vigilance committee." It is sufficient for me to state that within twenty-four hours of their knowing the news to be authentic, meetings were called and resolutions passed of such a nature as will speedily effect a settlement, Mr. Peltier being appointed to replace Shaw, assisted by Mr. Savage. I need not state that Mr. Peltier is not only the most able committeeman on this system, but that he is in full sympathy and determined to pull his own men out of the disgraceful position into which they have been plunged by one who has failed in his duty, and who returns with one of those long faces characteristic of the traitor, and to make his own doings look presentable he contemplates a repetition of the A. R. U. A committeeman who has such ideas of the present situation openly admits that he is unqualified to hold the position he was appointed to.

I am busy stacking every day. We are having a great harvest. Everything is just the same on this division, only we feel prouder of our president and committee for refusing the offer made through the supposed conciliation committee, or rather, the C. P. R. committee.

If the other Unions have entrusted their ALL to these men they will soon be worse off than the section men. They have made a great howl about our president being an American, but we don't care what he is so long as he is a MAN.

There is one thing you won't forget when a settlement is made. We must have it clearly understood that every man gets back where he left off on June 17th. We are all o. k. with our roadmaster here, but such is not the case all over, and you may be sure it would be the best Union men that they

would try to put out, with the excuse that there was a "scab" in his place. Stay with them on this point, and you can be sure of a few of us with you to the end.

Bro. Lowe was in Winnipeg. I did not see him but I am sure he strengthened up a few weak places. He is a splendid talker and knows just how to work and what to say among the boys.

A strike of more than ordinary public interest in Canada just now is the struggle of the Canadian Pacific Railway trackmen in an effort to get better pay. The company claims that its trackmen are higher paid than those of any other railway in this country, or the United States; but when deductions are made, this is not at all the case, and, unfortunately, this is not the only respect in which the C. P. R. has issued statements on this strike question which are at variance with the facts. For a gigantic corporation, such as this, to use its telegraphic service to misrepresent and vilify its trackmen is a spectacle dishonoring to its past record. The only theory to account for such arrogance in petty things is that suggested by the Globe that some high official has acquired a large swelling in the head. It is high time the Government interfered to reduce this swelling. It interfered in the case of the Grand Trunk trackmen's strike three years ago, and there is much more occasion for interference now, since the C. P. R. was a creation of the government, and has had abounding favors from the people in time past. Neither the Government nor the C. P. R. can afford to trifle with the lives of thousands that are being endangered by this midsummer madness of a mocking official.

There is naturally a good deal of discussion just now as to the remedy for labor troubles. The only true remedy for strikes and lockouts is that laid down 1900 years ago by one who knew all the springs of human thought and motive: "As ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." When a set of men, whether employers or employes, twist this principle right around and begin to judge what others should do to them, then their troubles commence.—The Canadian Engineer for August.

Editor Province:—In your issue of 23rd inst. you publish an editorial under the heading "Foreign Interference," in which you attack Mr. Wilson, the president of our organization, in an unreasonable and cowardly manner.

So far as the late C. P. R. trackmen are concerned, and laboring men in general, your effort "cuts no ice," but that there is a certain section of the country where people might be misled by your mode of reasoning we dare not doubt, hence our object in trespassing, with your permission, upon your columns in order to refute one or more false and malicious statements in your article, and which in the interests of truth and justice ought not to be allowed to pass unchallenged.

That the Province is in the employ of the C. P. R. is an opinion which obtains very extensively, consequently, we cannot look in that direction for any matter anent the strike except what is tainted with prejudice or directly emanates from, or is dictated by, the C. P. R. officials.

A cause which has to be bolstered up by falsehood and the refined art of bluffing cannot stand long under the clear light of truth, and the supporters of such a cause who resort to such nefarious means will have to pass away to their deserved reward.

You designate Mr. Wilson's action as "foreign interference." You are at liberty to entertain this opinion, but we wish to impress upon you the fact that Mr. Wilson is in the position in which the C. P. R. trackmen have placed him.

Up to the present the trackmen have been discarded and trampled upon, have labored under the cruelest hardships, and all for the magnificent sum of $1.25 per day! Such cruel circumstances forced them to look for a general who would place them in a better position among their fellowmen. They sent for Mr. Wilson and events have proved the wisdom of their choice.

The cause of the strike, and not the character of any one of the strikers or their leaders, is what is before the highest tribunal in the land—public opinion—and up to the present there has been no unfavorable pronouncement.

As the cause of the strike is unassailable you attack a man's character and attempt to make it a public concern; a sense of justice should be the foundation of your qualities, Mr. Editor.

Foreign interference! Is it because of foreign interference you have the liberty to live as you do in Canada to day? Is it because of foreign interference you have the liberty to pray as your inclination and circumstances prompt you? Is it because of foreign interference your forefathers, Mr. Editor, were captured in a state of barbarism and advanced to a state of civilization? Is it because of foreign interference the world is enjoying its present liberty and the poor slave was disenthralled from the shackles of bondage, able to straighten his back and refuse to submit to the lash of the oppressor?

You say: "This man (meaning Mr. Wilson) went back home to St. Louis bearing with him the suspicion and ill-will of every Union man who desired to see an amicable and reasonable arrangement arrived at."

Now, Mr. Editor, have you not erred? Do you not mean Charles Pope? Since the inception of his "interference" in this strike he has been under a very strong suspicion; his actions have disgusted every son of toil; his conduct reprehensible and suspicious caused a wave of indignation to pass along the entire road. He had to give away to more determined, more honest men. He was allowed to go home or elsewhere as he might elect. Mr. Wilson did not leave Montreal; he is still there and will remain there until the trouble is ended.

Any reasonable and unprejudiced person who has followed and read the correspondence which has taken place between the company and the trackmen's committee in Montreal will readily admit that Mr. Wilson and his committee have been most conciliatory and reasonable in their demands and justified in rejecting the terms offered by Mr. McNicoll. Here is an extract from Mr. McNicoll's terms issued on August 13:

> The company will meet a committee and grant them a schedule, provided, however, that such schedule shall only apply to forenen and first and second men of one year's standing in the company's service, and neither the schedule nor any of its conditions shall apply to others employed either on section work or on extra gangs; nor shall any committee representing the organization at any time interfere or attempt to interfere with the relations between the company and employes in its maintenance-of-way department.

A very superficial glance at the foregoing forces one to the inevitable conclusion that Mr. McNicoll is prepared to crack the nut, throw the shell to the trackmen, and keep the kernel for himself.

If Mr. Wilson had dared to accept or even proposed the acceptance of such a clause we would have every reason to designate his conduct in the strongest

epithets we could command. But Mr. Wilson would not be guilty of such a shocking betrayal.

You also say that Mr. Wilson has deliberately "prolonged the strike in the interests of American roads in whose pay he is for that very purpose." On what ground has this assertion been made? How do you know that he is in the employ of American roads for this purpose? Assertions are always the arguments of the unreasonable.

Your charge is simply absurd in the face of well known facts. Are you not aware of the existence of the General Managers' Association, of which Mr. McNicoll is a member? Many of the employes and ex-employes of the C. P. R. have felt bitterly its tyrannical effects. That association, Mr. Editor, is a "foreigner," and owing to its meddlesome "interference" in Canadian affairs thousands of men have been pushed to the wall and debarred from securing employment. This association has deliberately "prolonged the strike" in order to crush poor men in the dust.

We are now fighting, Mr. Editor, for something more precious than dollars and dimes; our manhood and our liberty are at stake. We are fighting to improve the heritage which has been placed in our hands, and we are determined as free men in a free country to continue the struggle and hand over to our successors what they shall have no reason to be ashamed to accept.

As one who has taken a keen interest in the struggle which, I hope, has now come to a satisfactory conclusion, I feel constrained to write and offer my hearty congratulations for the manly stand you have made against many adverse circumstances and an unscrupulous enemy. Whatever the nature of the settlement may be, I consider you have won the esteem of every right thinking man, and I am persuaded that after the storm has passed, we will be able to look at the case in a proper light, then, and not until then, can we do so. I am fully persuaded that the maintenance-of-way men when they reflect quietly and seriously over the matter will involuntarily come to the conclusion that through your guiding hand, they have preserved their manhood and placed themselves on a higher plane. They must also not forget that you have been true to them in the face of what might have been serious temptations to a weaker man.

I am satisfied that you have gone through one of the severest ordeals possible—exasperating to a degree, requiring coolness and determination to keep your patience and walk serenely over the jibes and insults that were hurled against you. You not only had the crafty and cunning general manager to contend with, but a badly misled clique headed by an unscrupulous bully whose conduct from first to last was of a very suspicious and reprehensible nature; from an honest workingman you would expect something different. He, however, in the opinion of many, was not only willing but actually worked in order to sacrifice not only the lives of his own fellow-workmen, but the natural rights of men who were struggling for their own emancipation. Pope was the principal tool in the hands of the company with a lie as its handle.

From the first announcement of the settlement of the strike on the morning of August 30 until last night it was impossible to procure a satisfactory and definite statement of the situation. The C. P. R. deluged the country and our newspapers with telegrams announcing the same, but not until Saturday p. m. was word received from you, and then the telegram was so brief that

the men concluded it was fictitious and as they were pestered by the company they swore fealty to you and would not budge from their position until definite word came to hand. Indeed I may say that I never had the pleasure of coming in contact with a more thorough, more determined, more honest class of men than those on this division. When the strike was announced I began to take an interest in it as I had among the men many friends. From one thing to another I drifted into an active interest in their case. What else could an old employe do? I knew too well the justness of their cause. I knew by actual experience what it is to endure hardships, insults and abuse, and as one who has suffered it all from youth to manhood, and my father before me, what else could I do than take up the cudgel in behalf of my fellowmen and in defense of their champion. This was essential at this end of the road, and a hard row we had to hoe, to the blistering of our hands and the skinning of our knuckles. You have every reason to be proud of your subordinates at this end of the road. Accept our united and everlasting gratitude.

FACTS RESPECTING UNIONS.

Vancouver, B. C., October 12, 1901.

To the Editor of The Independent:

Sir: I think the time has come when those who know the facts respecting trades unions, their mode of procedure and the way they are conducted should speak out. So much has been said, and is being said, and so much is being printed and spread broadcast throughout the length and breadth of the land, which, if true, no true man, with a grain of liberty-loving freedom about him, would think of tying himself up to. During the C. P. R. trackmen's strike we constantly read in the papers about the irresponsible head of that organization, Mr. Wilson, plunging so many men and families into poverty to suit the whim of one individual. Then it was charged he was an alien and had no standing in this country whatever; in fact, Mr. Wilson got the blame, the whole of the blame, and a whole lot of abuse heaped upon him for what, because he was a man, a man who could not be bought to sell the men who had placed their confidence in him, and who had placed him in the highest position in their order—their president. Had Mr. Wilson been a pliable man in the hands of the executive of the C. P. R., had he been scared by the trackmen you would not have heard such trumped-up charges as was made against him; but, on the contrary, he would have been praised as a sensible man. To men who are trade unionists and especially those who are members of international unions like the trackmen's, typographical, moulders, locomotive engineers, trainmen, conductors, telegraph operators' and scores of other unions which need not be mentioned, such slander, such rot, as was said about Mr. Wilson, president of the trackmen's union, must have come home to them with great force, especially as it struck at them also, as every international unionist has for the head of his order—an American. I cannot recall to mind one president of an international union who is not a foreigner; but international unions recognize no boundary line; their cards are good all over the continent, and if a Canadian showed more aptitude to serve his order in the presidential office you can bet that he would have had the job. It is the best men for the positions we, as trade unionists, are looking for, irrespective of nationality. Another thing we heard, and are hearing today, is that these irresponsible heads can call strikes

and compel men to quit their work and cause unbounded misery to the wives and families of its members. The people who made these statements, whether in the press, on the platform, or in a court house, display such an ignorance of the question and a want of knowledge of the subject that it is painful to read what they say, or listen to what is said. It is the biggest mistake imaginable, even to suppose these officers have such powers. No executive officer of any union calls a strike without the consent of the members in the locality, or on the system where trouble has arisen. Why for two months before the trackmen's strike took place, the men on the C. P. R. system were trying to get the company to give them the needed relief, and after the men's failure to do this they called the executive of their order to take the matter up, and intercede for them, without avail. The orders to the executive from the men were to get what they were asking for. And in the event of failing, to call a strike all over the road. How then can Mr. Wilson and his officers be to blame? They were simply carrying out the mandate of the members, and did it well. In all cases the unions affected must give their consent before such a thing as a strike shall occur. I know personally the executives of many unions who have been the means of stopping numbers of strikes through their intelligent handling and pointing out to the local unions liable to be affected the fallacy of their position. The executive of a union is a deterrent to strikes. It is the brake which impedes the too fast running of the members. And for people to say that they are irresponsible is to talk about something they know absolutely nothing about. The executive of a union prevents more strikes than employers have any idea of, or are likely to have. I know of hundreds of men today who are on strike, and have been for months, who are receiving no strike pay, simply because they struck without consulting the executive of the union to which they belong. Why is this? Had they done so, the men knew that they could not get the consent of the head officers to sanction it. Why, if all is true one hears and reads, the strike on the C. P. R., on the managers' side, was run by the General Managers' Union, of which Mr. McNicoll, general manager of the C. P. R., is a member. Mr. Wilson made the statement, or is credited with it, that it was the General Managers' Union which supplied all the alien scabs to the C. P. R. Be that as is may, the president is an American, and so are its officers, yet the subsidized press said nothing about that. Of course that's different. We are told now that a man who takes strike pay is a pauper. Indeed, we still live and learn. I suppose then a man who places his money in the savings bank and falls sick and draws out some to live on is a pauper, too. Or a man who pays into a sick benefit society, like the Oddfellows and Foresters, and at times of sickness draws sick pay is a pauper. We might just as well say that the person who made the remark that men drawing strike pay were paupers, was one, too, because he draws a salary from the public purse, many of whom he calls paupers helping to subscribe to it. If a man draws strike pay he is only receiving what he has already paid in to his society, which is his own. Then when a man says that he becomes pauperized because he accepts what is his own, he is only talking for effect. The poor fellows referred to received no strike pay from the union or anybody else, so that it was quite unnecessary to infer that they did. It is strange that some men cannot rise above a certain level and get out of the old rut they have been running in for so many years. They appear not to realize that we are living in a progressive age, which is ever changing for the better, I hope. I should be sorry to believe otherwise. They do not even yet realize that trade unions

are here and here to stay. They do not care whether they have been the means of bettering the conditions of hundreds of thousands of men or not. They do not care a rap if trade unions have been the means of getting better houses for the poor. They do not know that trade unions have been the means of getting better sanitary conditions in our mines, work shops and factories. They do not trouble their heads to point out the good that trade unions have done, and are doing, in spite of, and in the face of such slanders, a thousand and one forces which have tried to prevent the accomplishment of these reforms which never would have been enjoyed by the workers were it not for trade unions agitation. Some men can only see in a trade union a clog in the wheel of the capitalist, which prevents him from grinding the masses down to conditions worse than slavery, and debars him from accumulating wealth out of their bones and sinews as fast as he would like to. The man who cannot see more in a trade union than that is physically and morally blind to the facts of the case. Paupers, forsooth! It is the trade union which keeps men from being paupers. The trade union is the reflection in organized, crystalized form of the best thought, activity and hopes of the wage worker. The world's greatest thinkers are now beginning to appreciate the fact that the demands of labor mean more than appear on the surface. They see that the demand for work is not alone one for the preservation of life in the individual, but is a humane, innate right; that the movement to reduce the hours of labor is not sought to shirk the duty to toil, but the human means by which the workless workers may find the road to employment; and that the millions of hours of increased leisure to the overtasked workmen mean millions of golden opportunities for lightening the burdens of the masses, to make the home more cheerful, the hearts of the people lighter, their hopes and aspirations nobler and broader. These are only some of the things trade unions are doing for the masses. It is a pity men in responsible positions should make use of language which is not fair to the weaker vessels, but which might be the stronger, if only he used his brains a little more and hurl from office men who, by using such unfair language, abuse their position.

J. H. WATSON.

Vancouver, Oct. 10, 1901.

CHAPTER XIII.

LACKEYS AND HYPOCRITES AND WOLVES IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING.

When the members of a labor organization, unable to adjust their grievances with their employers through their joint protective board, decide to order a suspension of work and call upon the president of their organization to take charge of their affairs and conduct a strike, they should keep him advised of everything of interest that transpires along the line and carry out all of his instructions.

When the strike was forced upon the maintenance-of-way men by the C. P. Ry. officials, the head of the trackmen's organization notified the chief executives of the other organizations composed of railway employes, and received assurances of moral support from all of them

except the chief officer of the Order of Railway Conductors. He was, therefore, in a position to know just what assistance maintenance-of-way men would receive from the sister organizations, and better able to judge than the men out on the line whether or not the interference of local representatives of other orders would be beneficial or detrimental to them. He also knew that the members of other orders generally were in sympathy with the members of the B. R. T. of A.; was familiar with the practical workings of all of the sister organizations, and knew that the laws of their organizations and their agreements with the C. P. Ry. company would prevent them from aiding the maintenance-of-way men, except in a moral and financial way.

A few days after the trackmen's strike was inaugurated and the agitation for the general chairmen of the other orders to act as a conciliation committee began, it was discovered that Mr. Charles Pope, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers on the Canadian Pacific system, was endeavoring to crystallize sentiment in opposition to the best interests of the trackmen. According to advices, he wrote a letter to one of his brother engineers in which he expressed himself as being opposed to the engineers on the C. P. Ry. aiding the maintenance-of-way men in their efforts to secure recognition and a fair settlement, contending that locomotive engineers had been imposed upon by members of other organizations composed of railway employes; that they had fought their own battles single-handed and alone; that they had fought the battles of all the organizations composed of railway employes in the train service, and were then being called upon to get down and fight the trackmen's battles.

A great many members of the B. R. T. of A. were led to believe that the members of other orders would suspend work, if necessary, to aid them in their struggle, provided they were requested to do so by their representatives. It was reported that enthusiastic members of other orders (who did not know they would not be permitted to engage in a sympathetic strike) criticised the maintenance-of-way men's representatives for not appealing to them for aid. Their criticisms misled many members of the B. R. T. of A. and caused them to flood their representatives in Montreal with letters, insisting that they should call to their aid the representatives of other organizations. A lack of practical experience and a proper conception of the situation by members of the B. R. T. of A. made it necessary for their representatives to admit into their camp men who were seeking an opportunity to aid the company and defeat the trackmen.

There is considerable truth in the assertion often made that little sympathy exists between workmen who receive four dollars a day for their services and those who receive one dollar a day. If the poorly paid classes of railway employes depend upon the better paid classes to fight their battles for them, or allow their local representatives on the different railways to come in and dictate the terms of settlement when they are contending for living wages and fair conditions of employment, they will get the worst of it in almost every case.

Although the strike of the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Ry. was conducted in an honorable way, and the strikers were given credit by the citizens of Canada generally and the C. P. Ry. officials for being law-abiding citizens, Mr. Charles Pope, local representative of the locomotive engineers, while in private conference with the general chairmen of the other orders, is alleged to have advocated the use of bloodhounds in an effort to break the strike, contending that the wrecks occurring along the road were the result of strikers tampering with the track, and that if bloodhounds were put upon the ground soon after the wrecks occurred the train wreckers (strikers) could be traced and captured.

When Messrs. Wark, chairman of the locomotive firemen, and Allison, chairman of the railroad telegraphers, arrived in Montreal they discussed with the trackmen's representatives the actions taken by the chairmen of the engineers, conductors and trainmen at Winnipeg. They expressed a belief that the representatives of the other orders would not have proposed to recommend that the maintenance-of-way men settle upon terms previously offered by the general manager (provided he would agree to allow them to return to work) if they had not been corrupted.

After the arrival of the general chairmen of the other orders in Montreal, according to statements made by Messrs. Wark and Allison, an attempt was made by Mr. Pope of the engineers to secure their indorsement of the actions taken by the general chairmen of the engineers, conductors and trainmen while in conference with the general manager at Winnipeg. At the same time they made the statement they declared their intentions were to insist upon the company making a fair settlement with its trackmen and that they would not become a party to such dirty work as the chairmen of the engineers, conductors and trainmen had proposed to do at Winnipeg. Before they left Montreal, however, they became perfectly subservient and by their actions displayed a willingness to aid the chairmen of the other orders and the officials of the company in their efforts

to break up the maintenance-of-way men's organization on the C. P. Ry. by attempting to influence and coerce the representatives of the latter organization into calling off the strike and entering into an agreement with the officials which would authorize them to reinstate only such men as they desired to re-employ. Thus it will be seen that the firemen and telegraphers on the C. P. Ry. had very weak men for general chairmen, and the prestige of their organizations, without the consent of their members, was used in the interests of the company and to the detriment of the men engaged in the strike.

When the president of the B. R. T. of A. discovered that the company was about to succeed in capturing the general chairmen of the other orders, which would enable it to use the prestige of the older organizations composed of railway employes against the trackmen who were making such an heroic fight, he said to Mr. Wark (the firemen's general chairman): "You gentlemen who are here representing the members of other orders can maintain your honor and uphold the principles or organized labor, without offending the C. P. Ry. officials or injuring the cause of the trackmen, by recommending that all differences between the company and its trackmen be settled by arbitration." His reply was: "We are not in a position to advise the company to settle by arbitration." The logical conclusion is that the chairmen of the other orders had such an exalted opinion of themselves and were vain enough to imagine they could dictate terms of settlement for the maintenance-of-way men, and they may have entered into an agreement with the officials to settle the strike according to their wishes. This suspicion is based upon the actions of the chairmen of the other orders and a published interview with the general manager in which he stated that the general chairmen had located where the difficulty rested (meaning the president of the B. R. T. of A.) and were endeavoring to remove it outside of the city.

Perhaps the most positive proof that can be rendered to show that the general chairmen of the other orders were made tools of and influenced to act in such a way as to degrade themselves and reflect discredit upon the men they were supposed to represent, is the fact that they became so idiotic as to imagine that the president and responsible official of the Trackmen's Brotherhood would sacrifice his own principles and the interests of the men he represented by leaving his post of duty upon their demand for him to leave Montreal in twenty-four hours.

This experience should serve as a warning to trackmen on all other roads and cause them to realize that this is a cold-blooded business world, composed of classes, and that the only classes among the

toilers and wealth producers who receive anything like a fair share of the wealth created and distributed by their labor are the classes who band themselves together and use their brains, energy and influence in defense of their rights.

The responsibility attached to the position of a committeeman, when several hundred thousand dollars in wages is in dispute between a corporation and its employes, is very great. Permitting outside parties to interfere in such matters should not be tolerated under any circumstances unless they are known to be honest and fair-minded men. Unscrupulous, designing men often scheme and connive to place themselves in such positions in order to have an opportunity to accept bribes or to promote their own interests. Allowing R. C. Montgomery to serve on the maintenance-of-way men's committee was the greatest mistake made by them during the entire proceedings, as it gave him an opportunity to betray his fellow-workmen and to accept a bribe in the form of "promotion."

On account of the men on the C. P. Ry. not being formed into local divisions it was necessary to form their joint protective board by recommendations and appointments. Not one of the men on the division Montgomery was working on recommended him as being a suitable person to serve on the committee. He was a self-constituted committeeman, and a suspended member of the B. R. T. of A. when he appeared in Montreal in April, on account of not paying his dues for the first quarter of the year in advance, in accordance with the laws of the organization. These facts were pointed out to the chairman of the committee, but in some way Montgomery made him believe that if allowed to serve on the committee he would render valuable assistance. By bringing him back to Montreal in May and allowing him to take part in the deliberations, he was given an opportunity to create a great deal of trouble, and not only added considerably to the expense of the organization, but, by violating his obligation, secured temporary promotion for himself.

When a class of workmen form an industrial organization, place it upon a protective basis and attempt to operate it in the interest of its members, they will meet with opposition from various sources. Christ had His Judas; all societies have their impostors. The members of a labor organization who have banded themselves together for mutual protection should be vigilant and at all times keep a sharp lookout for labor sneaks who are seeking an opportunity to promote their own interests at the expense of their fellow-workmen.

Notwithstanding the older organizations composed of railway employes have done a great deal for the classes they were established

by, and have made the lives of their members more tolerable, they have to deal with and are often deceived by men who will "sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage." To prove the truthfulness of this assertion the following letter, which appeared in the August (1901) issue of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine is reproduced:

To the Divisions and Lodges of the B. L. E., B. L. F., O. R. C., B. R. T. and O. R. T.:

Brothers:—We think it proper to hand you an authentic statement relative to the somewhat recent events connected with the efforts to secure new and more advantageous schedules of pay on the Central Railroad of New Jersey, about which there was much newspaper talk, and out of which some misunderstandings have grown. This statement is a simple and concise presentation of facts made from our personal observations, the reports of the several general chairmen, and from the records of a meeting of inquiry.

In April, 1900, the several general committees named for the C. R. R. of N. J. signed a co-operative agreement in which it was agreed that the committees could co-operate in an effort to secure new schedules, and that none of them would accept final settlement unless all were able to satisfactorily settle. The engineers and firemen presented a joint schedule. Separate propositions were presented by the conductors, the trainmen and the telegraphers. Several conferences were had at different and separate times between the committees and the officials. The conductors were able to reach an agreement satisfactory to them, the final acceptance of which was stated to depend upon the other organizations being able to settle. None of the other committees were able to secure concessions which they were willing to accept; and finally, in March last, the grand officers of the organizations were called, the call being answered in person by the undersigned, who met with the several full general committees at New York on April 2.

After a review of the situation it was deemed best for the five general chairmen to seek an interview with the president of the road. President Maxwell informed them that he was about to sever his connection with the road and referred them to Vice-President Warren. The chairmen went to Mr. Warren, and he told them that the answer which had been made by the other officers of the company was the answer of the company. He refused to interfere in any way or to entertain or make any different proposition.

The committees were unwilling to accept settlement on the terms open to them, and officially turned the matter over to the grand officers. We addressed a note to Vice-President Warren, asking for a conference for ourselves and a committee of employes. He answered very evasively, and we again wrote him requesting an interview. Again he answered, ignoring our request for conference, and also ignoring the fact that the trainmen and telegraphers were as much interested as the engineers and firemen.

It was plain that he did not desire or intend to meet us; but in order to be sure, we, on April 6, wrote him again requesting conference and specially asking reply to that request. This communication, as well as the others, was delivered at his office by members of the committee, but it was ignored completely. We were thus unable to do anything more to help the brothers unless the membership on the road were willing to vigorously defend their right to be represented through their organizations.

The committeemen were strong in their expressions of belief that the membership interested were wholly unwilling to let the matter drop. They expressed themselves as sure the members would desire to fight for their rights, and one chairman expressed himself as "surprised" at the conservatism shown by us in our efforts to get a conference with Mr. Warren.

In accord with our belief that refusal of a railway manager to meet the chosen representatives of the employes when called on by those employes, fully justifies open resistance, and agreeable to the expressed wishes of the committees, it was agreed to submit the question to the membership for a strike vote. A statement for each submission was prepared and signed by ourselves and the five general chairmen. This was Saturday evening, April 6. The statement was dated April 8, with the understanding that it would be printed Monday and that copies would be sent to the chairmen with which to supply the members as soon as possible. The committeemen went home Saturday night. The ballots were printed Monday, were shipped to the chairmen Tuesday morning and were delivered Wednesday.

On Sunday open opposition to the action of the committees and officers began among some of the engineers at Jersey City. This was agitated freely and plans for an independent and illegal committee of engineers to assume authority to make settlement with the company were laid. It became apparent that the sentiment among some of the employes was very different from what it had been stated or understood to be.

Chairman J. V. Wait of the engineers' committee, and Chairman T. Shea of the firemen's committee, instead of carrying out the understanding to vote the men, went on their own authority and, without consulting the other chairmen or the grand officers of their brotherhoods, appealed to the general superintendent to arrange a conference for the committees with officers of the company for the purpose of making a settlement. A conference was arranged and a settlement was made and arrangements for a meeting between the officials and trainmen's and telegraphers' committee were made.

At the conference arranged by Chairmen Wait and Shea the following engineers, members of the B. L. E., but not members of their committee, were present by invitation of the officials of the road: M. M. Clapp, John Erickson, P. T. Doyle, Eugene Mahoney, William Gorman and Frank Wynkoop. It is stated that these are the ones who were to take things out of the hands of the regular committees and make a settlement. It is also stated that they had an engagement for a conference with the officials of the company on the morning of April 11, which was postponed on account of the conference arranged by Chairmen Wait and Shea for that afternoon, at which the independent and practically self-appointed committee were present.

After this action on the part of the engineers' and firemen's committee, there was nothing left for the trainmen and telegraphers to do except to save or get what they could out of the situation, which their committees did after communicating with their grand officers and getting their sanction.

On account of them having decided upon their own authority to choose the course which they followed, the chairmen of the engineers' and firemen's committees did not distribute the ballots to their constituents. Chairman Titus of the conductors, learning what was going on, promptly reported and asked for advice. He was advised to hold the ballots under these circumstances. The chairmen of the trainmen's and telegraphers' committees partially or wholly distributed their ballots.

If the committeemen had expressed to us the sentiment among the men as being in favor of a settlement on the best terms possible to get rather than to risk any trouble, or if they had expressed a desire to make an effort to settle in the way they later chose, we would certainly have encouraged them in so doing before seeking official conference with the vice-president. The inconsistency and impropriety of the action of the chairmen who sought and arranged the conference with the general superintendent under the circumstances which existed, and which they had assisted more than any others in building up, is so apparent from a simple statement of facts as to need no elaboration. The treachery of those members who interfered and who were so ready and handy as tools in the hands of the officials against their fellow-employes and their brothers, will be appreciated in its full meaning by all true and loyal brothers. Yours fraternally,

P. M. ARTHUR, G. C. E., B. L. E.,
F. P. SARGENT, G. M., B. L. F.,
E. E. CLARK, G. C. C., O. R. C.,
P. H. MORRISSEY, G. M., B. R. T.,
M. M. DOLPHIN, Pres., O. R. T.

During the strike on the Maine Central Railway in June, 1901, by the maintenance-of-way men on that road, their president was invited to attend a union meeting of railway employes at Waterville, Maine. Several hundred Maine Central Railway employes were in attendance. The maintenance-of-way men's representatives reported that members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were scabbing on members of the B. R. T. of A. The names of the engineers who were charged with scabbing were given. The meeting was well attended by locomotive engineers, and none of them denied the charge that two of the members of their organization had been guilty of doing the work previously performed by the maintenance-of-way men on strike. The following message was sent to the chief executive of the B. L. E.:

Waterville, Me., June 15, 1901.

P. M. Arthur, G. C., B. L. E., Cleveland, O.:

Engineers Chester Spear and Frank Robinson, Jr., are working in places of striking coal men, members of B. R. T. of A., on Maine Central Railway.

After listening to the address delivered by the president of the B. R. T. of A., a motion was unanimously adopted requesting all who were not members of either of the organizations composed of railway employes to retire, and the members of the several organizations to hold an executive session. The members of the different organizations then selected one of their members to take up the current passwords and ascertain if all present were entitled to remain.

There appeared to be considerable sentiment in favor of ordering a suspension of work by all classes of men on the Maine Central Railway. The president of the B. R. T. of A. stated that the meeting was

not called to consider the propriety of taking such steps, and advised the members of the other orders that if they contemplated taking such action it would be proper for them to hold separate meetings and to do business in accordance with the laws established by the several organizations for the government of their members. His suggestion was favorably considered and dates upon which the meetings were to be held were agreed upon.

In a few days the writer received a message at Montreal from the vice-president of the B. R. T. of A., requesting him to go to Portland, Maine, and meet committees from the other orders, who were being sent to Portland to aid in settling the trackmen's strike. He left Montreal on the evening of June 24, arriving in Portland the next morning, expecting to meet representatives from all of the other orders. Upon his arrival he picked up a morning paper and was surprised to read the following:

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS AND ORDER OF RAILWAY CONDUCTORS NOT IN SYMPATHY WITH THE TRACKMEN ON STRIKE ON THE MAINE CENTRAL RAILWAY.

To the Members of the Trackmen's Union:

We, the undersigned, members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Order of Railway Conductors, read an article in the morning papers throughout the state to the effect that the Order of Railway Conductors had appointed a committee to confer with the committee of trackmen, and that the B. L. E. was going to appoint a committee Sunday. As members of the above orders we will say that we know nothing of any such committee being appointed; it would be well for Mr. R. P. Neil and other leaders of the Trackmen's Association to confer with the divisional committee of the O. R. C. division, and the B. L. E., and find out if a committee had been appointed before making such a statement.

The article also states that the men are all out and standing firm. I beg to differ; as we pass over the road between Bangor and Portland, we find nearly, if not all, the sections covered by a full set of men, many that did not go out, and many of the old and better class returning, and by asking any member of the O. R. C. and B. L. E., you will get a truthful answer to any question you may ask them in regard to sections being covered. And they will gladly tell you who covers each and every section on their division. My friends, don't be afraid to ask questions of men you have known for years, who have no axes to grind. Let us say before closing, that the B. L. E. and O. R. C. do all their business on the square. Believe what they tell you and don't be duped by strangers.

FRANK WHITNEY, Engineer.
T. E. SANBORN, Con. M. C. Ry.

According to reports, the members of the B. L. E. and O. R. C. were very much displeased with the action taken by Engineer Whitney and Conductor Sanborn. The above article appearing in the

press, above their signatures, at this particular time, indicated that the Maine Central Railway officials were holding them as tools to be used at their convenience.

Committees representing the members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the Order of Railroad Telegraphers joined the maintenance-of-way men's committee and assisted it in securing a settlement which caused the strike to be declared off.

Although locomotive engineers receive more pay in proportion to the services rendered on almost all roads than any other class of employes, I have been informed that the Canadian Pacific and Maine Central Railway companies increased the wages of their locomotive engineers a short time after making settlement with their maintenance-of-way men. Thus it will be seen that there does exist an aristocracy of labor, and in some instances it is upheld by the representatives of well paid classes and the agents of corporations.

Men trying to improve their condition by united efforts should beware of lackeys, hypocrites and "wolves in sheep's clothing."

CHAPTER XIV.

DETECTIVES.

I was recently handed a verbatim copy of a report of the proceedings of the 1901 convention of the O. R. T., which had been tediously prepared and submitted to a railway official by one of the company's detectives. While the information contained in the report was doubtless obtained at a cost of several hundred dollars to the company in whose service the "detective" was employed, a report ten times more complete could have been obtaind for a nickel by purchasing a copy of either of the St. Louis dailies each day during the session. In fact, there was not a solitary item in the report that had not appeared in the public prints.

I have been for twelve years connected with a labor organization and during that time no action has been taken by it in secret session that any railway official might not know, or the knowledge of which would be worth a two-cent stamp to any railway company.

The sessions of labor organizations are only held behind closed doors to prevent interruption and annoyance by persons who are in no way concerned in the proceedings except, perhaps, that they are morbidly curious to know WHY the sessions are held.

If there is one thing more than another which causes employers and employes to be at variance, it is the actions of a set of employes known as "detectives." "They toil not, neither do they spin," yet

they enjoy more of the luxuries of life than do the men who create the world's wealth. Almost every corporation employing a few hundred or a few thousand workmen carry on their payrolls a staff of detectives.

"Probably the most perfect spotter system achieved by any private corporation," says Ainslie's Magazine, "is that of one of the big eastern railroads, which is to some extent modeled on the secret service system of some of the European governments, though by no means so complex. So far-reaching and so direct, however, are its lines of communication that the president of the organization is himself kept constantly informed of the trend of affairs and the changes of sentiment among the employes of every division and subdivision of the whole railway system, and that without the knowledge of any other persons but his own special corps of clerks and secretaries. Nobody but himself knows the entire personnel of the wonderful service that he has perfected. His agents are drawn from every branch of the road's operating staff. They are engineers, freight brakemen, passenger trainmen, conductors, signalmen, yardmen, station agents, track walkers and even division officials. Should that road have a strike—and strikes are far less likely to occur than they were before the present system was put into operation—the president will have detailed warnings of it from all the storm centers long before the first mutterings find cautious utterance in the newspapers. While it also acts as a defense against thefts by employes, this system is intended primarily to prepare, so to speak, a diary of the disposition, character, working efficiency and sentiments toward the road of the men who constitute the vast human machinery of the corporation. The feeling which culminates in a general strike is not the result of one act alone, but a slow growth made up of many grievances, real or fancied. To keep track of the shifting mental attitude of his employes is the aim of this railroad president. If a certain division superintendent has made himself unpopular with his subordinates information to that effect comes by "underground wire" to the central office and the matter is taken under advisement. If the newest fireman on the road attempts to stir up discontent by inflammatory talk his views soon reach the official ear. Every leading spirit in the employes' organization is known to the president, who also knows whether in case of trouble the man is to be reckoned upon as a conservative or a radical. Sometimes this works out a man's career in a manner quite incomprehensible to him. For instance, Night Watchman Brown is shifted, without cause that he can fathom, from one division to another. How should he know that rumors of trouble in that

division have reached the presidential car, and that he himself, being down in the president's little book as a speaker of weight and counsellor of conservative methods, had been shifted over to act as an unconscious agent in checking a dangerous tendency?

"Some of the admiring co-workers of the head of this system declare that in two minutes' reference to his collected funds of information he can unroll the family history of the woman who washes the windows of car 41144, and tell whether, in her estimation, he himself is an oppressor of the downtrodden, or a perfect gentleman.

"When so many invisible lines radiate from the same office it is inevitable that some of them should cross. Curious complications result from contact between spotters as unknown to each other as they are to those whom they watch. Several years ago at a time of general railway troubles, a certain railroad got no less than five reports from its confidential men informing them that an employe (who was several degrees higher in the secret service of the road than any of them, had they but known it) had been making incendiary speeches. This was true. Matters had so shaped themselves that the man accused had to appear as a radical in order to gain admittance to inner councils where the important questions would be finally decided. To the chagrin of the authorities they were obliged to transfer him. Had they not done so the suspicions of the men who made the reports would have been aroused. That spotters should know each other as such is held to be highly undesirable. There is always the chance that they might work in conjunction instead of acting as checks on each other."

No one should object to "secret service" men running down and capturing criminals; but when an employer hires men who are honest enough to work for a small wage, then engages other men to watch them who are, perhaps, not as trustworthy as the men they are engaged to watch, his actions are absurd in the extreme. When men who render faithful service realize that they are mistrusted by their employers, and that a large portion of the wealth they create is given to men employed to watch their actions, they are justified in becoming dissatisfied. Discontent brought about in this manner eventually leads to trouble. A large percentage of men employed by corporations to do detective work are untrustworthy, mischiefmakers, and criminals.

During the month of May, 1901, the maintenance-of-way men on the C. P. Railway sent their representatives to Montreal, with instructions to secure an agreement with the company, setting forth the amount of wages they should receive for service and the conditions

under which they should work. Had the railway officials taken the matter up in a businesslike way with the trackmen's representatives, convinced them that they were willing to deal with their employes in a spirit of fairness, but could not make any more concessions until the earnings of the road increased, there would have been no strike. Instead of giving their men's chosen representatives credit for being honest, loyal to themselves, their families, and the company's interests, and capable of doing business on a fair basis, they put a number of detectives after them as if they were a band of criminals.

The maintenance-of-way men's representatives arrived in Montreal on May 29, and stopped at the Grand Union Hotel. About the same time several well-dressed, well-appearing men registered at the same hotel. They soon became acquainted with the maintenance-of-way men's representatives, expressed great sympathy with the trackmen and hoped the committee would obtain all they were contending for. They did not, however, inform the trackmen's representatives what their business was or why they were staying at the Grand Union Hotel.

When negotiations between the committee and the officials were broken off and the announcement of a general strike by the maintenance-of-way men was made public, the men of unknown occupations expressed regret because the company and the committee did not make an amicable settlement and they hoped the trackmen would win in the contest.

When several detectives are detailed to look after a matter of importance a leader is selected who outlines the work to be done. Each man is assigned to do the work he is best fitted for. If a member of a committee is inclined to dissipate, he is looked after by a detective who is a heavy drinker, a good mixer and a good "jollier." If one is of a "sporty" disposition, he will be cared for by a "sport." The man who can be induced to accept a bribe will be waited upon by one who is capable of controlling him. Men employed as detectives are usually good judges of human character. They can readily capture and handle weak men placed in responsible positions. One of the grand division organizers of the B. R. T. of A. was taken in by a C. P. Ry. detective, who obtained through him an introduction to the maintenance-of-way men's representatives. Later on, a representative of one of the railway brotherhoods, while in Montreal, made a friendly call on the representatives of the maintenance-of-way men at the Grand Union Hotel, and when leaving he was accompanied to the railway station by the organizer and the C. P. Ry. detective. A short time thereafter the writer received a letter from his caller, stat-

ing that he had been severely reprimanded by his superior officer for expressing sympathy for the trackmen on strike. He also stated that the organizer and the man introduced as a friend (but who was in reality a C. P. Ry. detective) were the only persons who heard him express sympathy for the trackmen, and that the officials had a verbatim report of the conversation which took place between himself, the organizer and his "supposed" friend. The writer pointed out the detective, and requested the committeemen not to associate with him. One of the committeemen disregarded the warning and before the strike was over aided the company in its efforts to defeat the trackmen.

False reports made to the officials by their detectives, no doubt, caused the strike to be prolonged.

Another of the company's employes, holding a responsible position in one of the departments, took board and lodging at the Grand Union Hotel. One evening he informed the writer that, owing to false reports made by C. P. Ry. detectives, he had been dismissed from the company's service. Upon being asked what the report was, he stated: "Detectives have reported at the office of the company that I was closeted with you (the writer) for several hours and revealed some of the company's valuable secrets. I denied the charge, but the superintendent stated that two of their men, who were looking after matters at the Grand Union Hotel, saw you and me enter a room and overheard all that passed between us."

The accused, knowing that he had never been in the writer's room nor the writer in his, told the superintendent he would not submit to being discharged on account of false reports. The superintendent requested him to remain quiet for the time being, and gave assurance that if he did so he would be reinstated when the strike was over. The discharged employe, however, felt very keenly the wrong that was being imposed upon him and insisted that an investigation should be held, thereby giving him an opportunity to prove his innocence. He took the position that the detectives who made the report should meet him and the president of the B. R. T. of A. in the presence of the superintendent, and intimated that if an impartial hearing was not given the matter at an early date, the manner in which he had been treated by the C. P. Ry. officials would be written up and given out for publication. The officials, not caring to reveal the identity of the detectives who made the false report, and knowing the party contending for a fair investigation was a man of some influence, and also believing that it would not be good policy at that particular time for differences with their employes in other departments to be made public, reinstated the discharged employe.

After a settlement was reached and the trackmen's strike was declared off, the writer was informed by a party residing in Montreal that an acquaintance of his (a loafer about town who never worked regularly at any honorable occupation) had acquired a new suit of clothes and seemed to be well supplied with money. Being asked the cause of his apparent prosperity, he replied: "I have struck a good thing. During the trackmen's strike on the C. P. Ry. the company was hard pressed for men. I was offered $3.50 a day, with board and lodging, to work for them, and on account of services rendered at that time I have been added to their permanent staff of detectives." He considered his position a "soft snap," but said the only unpleasant feature about it was that "he would have to wear shabby clothes and live in cheap lodging houses in order to keep in touch with the maintenance-of-way men and report their sentiments in regard to organization."

During the strike the company's detectives practically enforced martial law in many places. According to reports, they infringed with impunity upon the rights of citizens. The corporation organs reported, under double display headlines, that the strikers and their sympathizers were rioting, tearing up track and destroying property generally at Carnduff, N. W. T., and that the officers of the law were being dispatched to that place to subdue the rioters. Such reports were dished out to the reading public by the company's sympathizers to make the people believe that maintenance-of-way men were a lawless element and unworthy the sympathy of good citizens. The riot at Carnduff referred to was reported by a track foreman residing at that place, as follows:

"I suppose you have heard of the rough time at Carnduff on July 22, to the effect that the strikers tore up track, and so forth, and of my being arrested and found guilty. I was thinking of writing you for some time past to inform you correctly of what transpired. A gang of men came to Carnduff to work. I was at the station when they arrived. They went down to where the hand-car was standing and started to put it on the track. I walked down and asked them if they knew they were taking the places of men on a strike. They said they did not, but were told the strike was over before they left Winnipeg. When I told them it was still pending, they said: 'That settles it.' The foreman of the gang remarked: 'We are not anxious to work; we are having a good time and are being well paid.' They returned to Napinka that night and reported that Carnduff was a rough town; that a gang of citizens, led by me, kept them from working. A C. P. solicitor arrived Saturday and seven policemen came

Monday with a carload of guns and ammunition. On being informed that Mr. Leonard had laid a complaint against me, I said: 'All right, I will go with you.' They took me before Justices of the Peace Smith and Hawkes and placed against me the charge of trespassing on the C. P. Ry. right-of-way. As I frequently had occasion to cross the track, and was on the C. P. Ry. right-of-way when arrested, of course the charge was sustained. The fine was $3.50 and costs; total, $4.50. This is the only excuse they had for circulating the report that the citizens of Carnduff were rioting and destroying property. Our town is inhabited by law-abiding citizens and we would not allow lawless people to destroy the property of any one."

The treatment of citizens by C. P. Ry. detectives in the vicinity of Peterboro, Ontario, is explained in the following extract from the Peterboro Review of July 26:

"A case occurred here last night which should be investigated, for it is not in keeping with the justice and fair play that is boasted of under British institutions. About 1 o'clock this morning one of the C. P. Ry. special constables brought two prisoners to the police station and locked them up. In accordance with usual proceedings, Constable Adams accommodated the railway officer. The two men gave their names as Albert Elliott, of Cavanville, and Wm. Spofford, of Pontypool—both track foremen. They came to town to attend last night's meeting and went to the C. P. Ry. station to see some of the men off on the midnight train. After the train went out they were standing on the platform, talking to a third man, when a C. P. Ry. constable approached and asked them what they were doing. They did not think it any of his business. He arrested one of them and started up town with him; the other two followed to see what was going to be done, and when they overtook the constable and his prisoner on George street he arrested the second man. The men made no resistance, but went with him to the police station, where they were locked up. The railway constable said he would be on hand in the court at 9 o'clock to lay charges and proceed against the prisoners. The two men, who were quiet and respectable looking, remained in their cells all night, and at 9 o'clock Magistrate Dumble was on hand, but no railway constable appeared to lay a complaint or to explain matters. After waiting till 9:30 the magistrate discharged the prisoners and the chief gave them their liberty. Chief Roszel is indignant at such actions. This is the second time such arrests have been made, but no one appeared to lay charges against the prisoners."

The moral of this is that it is unwise to become confidential with

persons on short acquaintance; also, that the greatest rascals and even criminals, who should themselves be doing service in stripes, are often placed in positions where they can use the cloak and machinery of the law to annoy and oppress the innocent.

CHAPTER XV.

INFLUENCE OF LABOR UNIONS.

In recent years many of the silly and ungrounded prejudices against labor organizations have disappeared, and those who entertained them have in many instances become enthusiastic supporters and advocates of the teachings and principles of modern unionism. It has been learned that instead of labor unions being fomenters of anarchy and lawlessness they are in fact among the strongest safeguards of law, order and morality. Instead of being composed of reckless, dissolute and immoral persons, such characters are barred from membership in all labor unions, and if an occasional exception to this rule is found, it is not more a reflection upon labor unions as a whole, than the defaulting teller is a reflection upon the banking system, a bribe-taking official upon popular government or a carnal-minded minister of the gospel upon the Christian religion. The more intelligent and more respectable persons employed in every handicraft are found among the members of the union of their craft, and the higher the standard of intelligence becomes among such craftsmen (and it necessarily becomes higher and higher as a result of their close affiliations and frequent discussions in their union meetings) the greater becomes the safety of all institutions which are established for the public weal, and the greater will be the security of the government of which they are in part components or auxiliaries. But if through public indifference or lethargy laws inimical to the people's welfare are permitted to be enacted by faithless officials the labor unions are the first to make the discovery and the last to give up the fight to have such laws repealed. Lust for private gain is the chief source of all vicious and pernicious legislation, and opposition to such lust led to the establishment of craft organizations as restrainers of evil tendencies. Vice and immorality hold their highest carnival in districts where poverty is greatest, and unionism is the remedy for poverty. The labor unions seek a better distribution of the wealth of the world among those whose labor creates it, and as the unions are multiplied poverty is diminished and crime, which poverty propagates, is correspondingly decreased. When a man can earn a living by honest labor he is not apt to beg or steal, and the easier it is for him to find employment the more certain will be his quest for it. When

he knows that employment cannot be had, or, if obtainable, that his wages will be too low to enable him to supply his own needs, and the needs of those dependent upon him, the chances are in favor of his becoming a beggar or even a criminal, for it is a short road that leads from beggary to crime, and many are the gates that lead thereto, but there is no road leading back from crime to respectability. Labor unions are doing more than any other agency to close the avenues which lead to crime. As labor creates all wealth, it is but just that labor should share more equitably in its distribution—a condition aimed at by all classes of organized labor.

Labor unions stand for high wages and improved conditions of life, physically, mentally, morally and socially. The skilled mechanic who receives high wages and spends his earnings to maintain a well-regulated home assists and encourages every branch of legitimate business enterprise. He spends his surplus earnings for books that will instruct the members of his household and for pictures, furniture, bric-a-brac, etc., that will beautify and make comfortable his home. He patronizes the merchant and the tradesman, as well as the institutions of learning. He is a respected citizen, a useful member of society, a credit and benefit to any country. Being upright and honest, he is indeed the noblest work of God. But how about the poor, underpaid laborer who is half the time unemployed and who has not enough spirit to demand pay for the work he does,—who lives more upon charity than upon the wages he receives. He is about as useful to society and about as well thought of as a stray dog that gets its living from garbage receptacles in back alleys and is kept busy most of the time dodging missles hurled by street gamins who are but little more fortunate in the way of home comforts than the object of their assault. He is miserable himself and imparts misery to those about him. The progress of a nation is measured by the progress of its workers, and the progress of the workers is co-equal with the development of labor unions. With the shortening of the hours of labor began the active period of mechanical invention. The labor-saving machinery of the present—some of which seems almost endowed with human intelligence, and all of which is marvelous in construction and almost miraculous when contemplated from the standpoint of speed and efficiency—has been evolved from the brains of mechanics who, under the improved conditions of service which organized effort has brought about, have found an opportunity to develop a latent or inherent genius for mechanical contrivances and inventions. Able writers and logicians have forcibly illustrated the close relation between the commercial supremacy of the United States

and the high standard of American labor. The superior skill and ability of American mechanics, when contrasted with the mechanics of other countries, is attributable in a great measure to their craft organizations or unions where the members assemble and exchange ideas upon matters pertaining to their vocations, thus bringing the newest developments and most practical methods of procedure to the attention of all members of the union, so that each may share alike in the benefits of such knowledge or inventions. At the present day every well-regulated trade union of national or international importance maintains an official publication through which the members, no matter where they reside, are kept advised of all improvements made in either the machinery or the methods by which their work is done. Such publication usually partakes of the nature and the form of a magazine, varying in the number and size of its pages according to the advancement, intelligence, and financial limitations of the class in whose behalf it is published, and in many instances the official publication of the organization in which the head of the family holds membership takes the place of newspaper, magazine, text-book and testament. These labor journals exert a great influence for good in the homes where they are read, as their pages are not smirched with the social sensations and scandals, the fawnings upon nobility and wealth, the stories of crime and adventure which fill the pages of secular newspapers and make them unfit for the eyes of young persons whose minds are impressionable and whose careers in life may be turned from good to evil by reading gilded stories of the splendor in which many persons of unknown occupation and dissolute character live. A young mind receiving its first impressions of the aims, responsibilities and duties of life from the pages of a labor union journal will retain those impressions through life and guide its possessor, in nine cases out of ten, along the paths of established moral rectitude. I have already said that "the persons of greatest intelligence employed in every handicraft are found among the members of the union of their craft." I want to make the application broader by saying that the persons of greatest intelligence employed in every vocation in life have established unions for their mutual benefit, and although some of these unions are known by names less repulsive to the minds of the capitalistic class, which takes delight in robbing labor of its legitimate earnings, they are unions, nevertheless. The medical student passes his examination, pays his fee and obtains a diploma, which is the same to him as the "working card" is to the member of a trade union. He cannot practice medicine until he does this, and if, after obtaining his diploma, he violates the fixed rules of his union he be-

comes a "quack," which is synonymous in the parlance of his profession with the word "scab" in the language of labor. The lawyer serves his apprenticeship and is admitted to the "bar," which is the lawyer's union, and if he fails to gain admission to this union he is barred from the practice of law in all the courts of the country. The courts which prosecute workingmen for defending their unions will not even allow a "legal scab" to appear before them. Even the ministers who preach the Holy Word are members of their "conference," and the regulations of the conference are as stringent as ever a labor organization dared to adopt. The merchants and bankers have their unions, which are called associations, and the manufacturers' union is called a "trust." If a manufacturer refuses to be coerced into joining the particular trust which has assumed dictatorial powers over his special line of production, his "inalienable right" as a citizen of this great republic to be an "independent" manufacturer is knocked into a "cocked-hat" by the manufacturers' union, and in the end his business is either absorbed by the trust or sold by the sheriff.

The difference between the "trust union" and the labor union is that the former aims to concentrate the wealth of the country in the hands of the favored few by destroying competition in various lines of industry, and, by securing a monopoly of the market and curtailing the supply, to be able to fix absolutely, not only the price of raw material and the price of the finished product, but the price of everything that enters into the cost of production, including rent, fuel and the wages of labor, making the workers absolutely dependent upon the "trust" and practically its slaves, whereas the labor union aims to secure a fairer distribution of the wealth which labor creates by giving a larger portion of it to the laborers themselves, thus benefiting not only the millions of laborers, but the hundreds of thousands of people who have their money invested in various business enterprises, the success of which depends entirely upon the prosperity of the wage-earning class. Were it not for the labor unions the wealth of the country would be so rapidly concentrated that many now living would see conditions in America akin to those which have immediately preceded and hastened the destructioin of national life in other countries—conditions which are always precursors of impending evil, as indicated by the following lines:

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Labor unions are not opposed to wealth. They are only opposed to its concentration in the hands of those who use their wealth to oppress those who create it. Right valiantly are the unions defending

the toilers' homes and firesides, but their struggle is not yet ended; their battle is not yet won. Gradually, through organized effort, the laborers will secure better conditions for themselves, better contracts with their employers; but they must eventually learn that it is in their power, through political action, to make their government beneficial instead of burdensome to their class. The question of the rights of labor has been the subject of much discussion and debate among politicians, and many platforms framed by political parties have contained planks which promised much aid and gave new hope to the laboring classes, but party platforms are too often like those of passenger trains—"made to get in on, and not to stand on." When the labor unions are strong enough to elect their own members to the legislative bodies, then the question of labor's rights will be settled, and settled in the proper way. Just laws will be enacted and the privileged class will be dethroned. To those who think such relief is but a remote possibility I would say that the best thoughts of the brightest minds in the country are pointing out the way to its achievement. The greatest newspapers in the country, such as the Hearst publications, are helping them. Public sentiment is almost ripe for such action. The privileged class is hastening its own doom by reason of its arrogance and utter disregard for the rights or even the lives of those who are outside its sacred portals. The privileged class is mad because many of its votaries are deserting it and seeking the ship of safety. There is an old saying that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." This saying is now one of serious portent for the enemies of labor. By their wrath they are paving the way for their final overthrow. In the meantime labor unions are growing in numerical strength and in public favor, because the public has at last awakened to the fact that unions are real public benefactors. They have been proclaimed legal and beneficial combinations by the highest tribunals in the land, while the trusts, which are their greatest enemies, have been denounced as "criminal conspiracies." The rise of labor has given new inspiration to the muses and from the many beautiful and animating tributes to its strength and courage the following from the pen of America's most gifted poetess, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, is selected to conclude this chapter:

I hear in the vibrant voices
  Of winds a jubilant tone,
For the heart of the world rejoices
  That labor will claim its own.
It has lain in the dust for ages,
  By the feet of Might downtrod,
And the world stood back and cried "Alack!
  But this is the will of God.

He has put His curse on Labor,
It suffers for Adam's sin."
But truth, like the stroke of a sabre,
Has let the sunlight in.
She has torn down the creed-made curtain,
She is showing the true God's face,
And it is not dark with hatred's mark,
But fair with love's own grace.

He is not a God of classes,
He is not a God of gold,
But He is the God of the masses,
Who toil in the heat and cold.
And into the heart of Labor,
Desolate, sick and numb,
He speaks from the skies and says "Arise,
For the day and the hour have come."

And out of the man-made prison,
Out of the dark and the dust,
Has labor at last arisen,
And it cries to Might, "Be just!"
It waits no word and no gesture;
In the calmness of strength it stands,
It pleaded too long at the ear of wrong,
Unheard—and now it demands.

Oh, slow are God's mills in grinding,
But they grind exceeding small,
And the greedy of heart shall be finding
That God is the God of all.
They shall learn that the Mighty Toiler,
The maker of men and things,
Of earth and star, and the worlds afar,
Ranks Labor above crowned kings.

Oh, heart of Labor, keep steady,
And stand for the rights you need,
For the world was never so ready
To welcome the fall of greed.
The waves of our prayers, like billows,
Shall bear your hopes on their crest,
And carry you out of the narrows of doubt,
And into the harbor of rest.

CHAPTER XVI.

FREE LABOR AND LABOR LAWS.

The statements contained in this chapter are mostly taken from a very interesting dissertation on "Labor and Labor Laws" found in volume six of the Americanized Encyclopedia Britannica, in which it is shown that "in every age and country, until times comparatively recent, compulsory personal servitude has been the lot of the greater portion of mankind." The first legislation directly bearing upon labor in England dates as far back as the reign of Edward III (1043-1066). The earlier labor laws were very stringent, and not only compelled all able-bodied men and women under the age of 60 years, and "not having of their own whereof to live," or engaged in the exercise of some craft or living, in merchandise, or having land to till, to serve at fixed wages under penalty of imprisonment, but—what seems to have been a needless precaution, in view of the present tendency of employers to cut wages to the lowest possible point—they also provided that any person paying more than the fixed rate of wages "should forfeit double what he had."

In 1360 the "Statute of Laborers" was amended by providing additional penalties for violation of agreements entered into between those who would now be designated as master builders and the men engaged in the building trades. If a mason or carpenter, or other artificer or laborer employed under contract, absented himself from service before the completion of the contract he was proceeded against under the statute of outlawry, and if the aggrieved party demanded it and the justice so decreed, he was branded with the letter "F" in token of his falsity. There appears, however, to have been no law at that time against the indiscriminate discharge of artificers or laborers at the will of the masters, which fact is significant when coupled with the statement that about this time occurred the first rebellion of which we have any authentic history among artificers against the "overseers of the trade."

During the reign of Richard II (1388), a law was passed under the provisions of which no man or woman could depart out of the hundred (a territorial division embracing one hundred families or freemen), to serve elsewhere, without first obtaining letters-patent, under the king's seal, showing the cause of going and the time of return. Agricultural laborers were divided into classes, and the wages of each class were fixed by law; and it was also ordained and enacted that "he or she which useth to labor at the plow or the cart, or other labor or service of husbandry, till they be of the age of twelve years, shall from thenceforth abide at the said labor without being put

at any trade or handicraft. Thus the law of caste, which establishes the social rank of the Hindoo and the Brahmin, was made serviceable to the "masters of husbandry" in England in the fourteenth century.

In the fifteenth century, under the reign of Henry IV, a law was passed which placed a property qualification on apprenticeships, and required "children to be put at such labor as their fathers and mothers were of," under penalty of one year's imprisonment, fine and ransom. The penalty for receiving such apprentices was a fine of one hundred shillings. Laborers and artificers who would not swear to observe these statutes were sentenced to the stocks; but this monarch was so enthusiastic for the spread of knowledge among his subjects that he had inserted in the above mentioned statutes a clause providing that "any person may send his children to school to learn literature."

In 1423 justices of the peace were given power to compel masters as well as servants to appear before them for examination as to the execution of the statutes. Prior to this all labor legislation was in favor of the masters (employers), and near the close of the fifteenth century a statute was framed fixing minutely the wages of laborers and artisans, especially those engaged in building. This law also provided that if such artificers should "make or cause to be made any assembly or assault, harm or hurt any person assigned to control and oversee them in their working," they should be "imprisoned for one year, without letting to bail, and further fined at the king's pleasure." Earlier in the same century, during the reign of Henry VI, a law was enacted which, after reciting that "by the annual congregations and confederacies made by masons in their general chapters assembled, the good courses and effects of the 'Statute of Laborers' are publicly violated and broken, in subversion of the law, and to the grievous damage of all the commonality," forbade the assemblage of such chapters and congregations, making it a felony for such to be held; but in 1514 a law was passed which regulated wages and hours of labor, and "even the summer-day sleep of the laborers and artisans."

The great social revolution caused by the suppression of the monasteries, and consequent withdrawal of the support which these institutions afforded to indigent persons, led to a dispersion of beggars and mendicants over the whole country, many of whom were able to work but unwilling to do so, preferring to live in idleness by begging. Under these circumstances cruel statutes were passed for the punishment of vagrants. In 1530 a person able in body, found begging or being vagrant, and unable to give a satisfactory account of how he obtained his living, might be arrested by a constable, and a justice of the peace might cause every such person to be taken to the nearest

town, and there tied, naked, to a cart and "beaten with whips through the town till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping." He was then required to return to his native town to labor, and every time he made default the whipping was repeated. Later on vagrants were branded with the letter "V" and adjudged to be the slaves, for two years, of anyone who would buy them. If a slave ran away before the term for which he had been sold expired the letter "S" was burned into his cheek with a red-hot iron and he became the slave of his master for life. If he again ran away the punishment was death.

During the reign of Elizabeth all former labor statutes were repealed and new laws enacted, the chief object being to establish new rates of wages and to regulate the terms of employment between employers and employes. Notice had been taken of the general rise in prices, and higher wage rates were established in some places. In Scotland, during the sixteenth century, there was much complaining among the masters on account of the raise in wages, and early in the seventeenth century justices were directed to fix at quarterly sessions, the ordinary hire and wage of workmen and "to imprison those who refused to work for the appointed hire." About the middle of the eighteenth century the summary jurisdiction of justices in the matter of disputes between employers and employes in relation to contracts and agreements, was regulated, and laborers and artisans were no longer compelled to enter into involuntary service. As late as 1867, however, laborers were imprisoned for leaving the service of employers before the term agreed upon had expired. Under the provisions of the "Masters and Servants Act" passed that year, a simple breach of contract was not punishable by imprisonment. Eight years later the title of this act was changed, "Masters and Servants" being dropped and "Employers and Workmen" substituted. In 1875 the prime minister of England declared that for the first time in the history of the country employer and employed sat under equal laws.

From the foregoing it can be seen through what tribulations free labor has passed during the last ten centuries and through what tedious processes its present status has been achieved. It is a long stride from compulsory service under most exacting conditions to voluntary service under conditions satisfactory to those employed. Although present-day conditions, viewed from the standpoint of the wage-earner, are not as pleasant and agreeable as could be desired, they are so vastly improved over those which prevailed even a century ago as to give to labor ample cause to hope that henceforth the trend of legislation on labor matters will be in the direction of even greater liberties and privileges for those who live by manual labor. While

the process of labor's evolution has been slow throughout the preceding centuries, and its stages of development marked by long intervening periods of apparent inactivity or resignation to the decrees of intellectually superior forces, the fire of industrial freedom has been fed from many sources and fanned by the free winds of heaven until it has become a raging, seething, consuming flame which the forces of lust and greed and vanity can never again put under restraint. There is certainly vast quantities of matter which properly should be fuel for this flame, but yet resists its advances, even as a green log momentarily resists the fire which afterward consumes it. But, as the log which is slowest in yielding to the flames which surround it retains the heat longest, even so the men who are slowest in embracing and proclaiming the principles of trade unionism as the instrument by which labor's complete emancipation must be accomplished will be the most persistent in their advocacy of this doctrine when its burning truths have penetrated their understanding. All around us we have illustrations of this fact, which is so self-evident to even the superficial observer of the progress of trade unionism that it is generally accepted as a labor axiom. During the year 1901 the membership of the American Federation of Labor was augmented by more than three hundred and fifty thousand recruits from the ranks of the toilers—a fact of itself so significant that it requires no elucidation in this chapter. And now the question of transcendant importance in the minds of the leaders of organized labor is not how to make organization more complete, but how best to handle the forces under their control to secure for their constituents the greatest benefits without doing injury to those for whom they have no authority to act.

CHAPTER XVII.

ORGANIZING THE TRACKMEN.

My first thought of organizing the maintenance-of-way men was entertained in the spring of 1887. Having given the subject much consideration; having weighed the hardships, sacrifices, expenses to be met, and the ends to be gained, I decided, notwithstanding all these, that an organization of maintenance-of-way men was not only possible but necessary to their personal welfare as regards wages, advancement and freedom. There was a vast difference between believing that maintenance-of-way men needed a protective organization, and being able to bring such an organization into effective operation. It is easier to suggest plans of relief than to operate them. The reader can readily see the many difficulties—inability, poverty, jealousy,

prejudice, and opposition from within and without—that would naturally rise to the view of a thinking mind. But, fortunately for the maintenance-of-way men, the writer's foresight was not so fully developed as to disclose all the drawbacks that existed. While he mused the fire burned, and finally a crude draft of a constitution and by-laws was prepared. A few maintenance-of-way men, after many an urgent solicitation, assembled in Talladega, Alabama, and there the constitution and by-laws were adopted. Everything seemed to be in fair shape to proceed with the work when the enterprise was suddenly paralyzed by the most trivial causes—but causes which were at such a time and under such conditions sufficient to scatter the little sentiment that had been created in favor of organization. The sad truth is that almost every man enrolled in the beginning was either too selfish or too cowardly to withstand the strain necessary for such an undertaking. A few rushed in heedlessly, hoping to create for themselves offices of honor and emolument; others joined by virtue of influences brought to bear upon them, only to give up in despair when they realized what sacrifices they would have to make in order to organize and maintain a brotherhood of maintenance-of-way men. Here the enterprise seemed to die, and, so far as its visible organization was concerned, it was dead for the time being. However, the spirit had been born to live; agitation in the writer's mind, at least, had begun—the kind of agitation, too, that could not be stilled.

During a period of apparent inactivity the writer was endeavoring to create the proper sentiment among the maintenance-of-way men and learned (what since has been a valuable lesson to him) that it is impossible to run an organization ahead of the intelligence and demands of those in whose behalf it is brought about. The history of this country from the days of its discovery, through its colonial period, its necessary revolutions, its state organizations, its articles of confederation, and its wonderful constitution, shows clearly how slowly, but surely, the agitation which grew out of political discontent widened into political liberty and freedom. And in like manner will the agitation which has grown out of industrial discontent finally result in industrial freedom.

But the time arrived when the work was again to be taken up. This was in the spring of 1888. Arrangements were made; the organization was formed and headquarters established at Demopolis, Ala., in the summer of that year.

The writer laid aside track work and took up the work of organizing, tramping thousands of miles in order to see maintenance-of-way men and tell them the story of his undertaking. This was a slow and

laborious way of reaching them, but how otherwise could it be done? The majority of the maintenance-of-way men whom he came in contact with could readily see existing conditions, and agreed that something should be done to remedy them; but it was a difficult undertaking to cause them to see how to proceed, and to feel that success depended upon their efforts. The truth is, the majority of them required time to grow up to the issue. Many of them entertained the idea that there was no hope for them and accepted their places as a matter of fact and service. Strange as it may seem, the external opposition, ignorance, and indifference were not all that had to be confronted and overcome. The Bible says: "A man's greatest enemies are those of his own household." There are Judases in every form of society known to man. They have caused us many disadvantages, not being able at all times to steer clear of them; but we are sailing beyond their force and influence and gaining strength. Look at the trees of the forest! Consider their age; count the storms they have passed through; see how every opposition has tended to make them strong, and the observation ought to be significant.

In 1889 the writer was elected president of the organization, and at each recurring convention has been called to fill that post of duty and responsibility. In the fall of 1889 the headquarters were removed from Demopolis to Birmingham, where they remained until 1891. On October 13, 14 and 15, 1891, the Order of Railway Trackmen was amalgamated with the Brotherhood of Railway Section Foremen, and headquarters were removed to St. Louis, Mo.

What have been our achievements? Have they equaled all that critics and on-lookers expected? Have they met our own expectations? If they have not, what have we accomplished? If the reader accurately contrasts our first efforts with our present strength he can partially answer these questions. Has the Brotherhood caused every maintenance-of-way man's wage to be increased to what it should be? Has it obtained equal rights for all, and abolished all grounds for dissatisfaction between laborer and capitalist? Has it beautified and enriched the homes of all its members, educated their children and provided for the families of all deceased members? Has it had all bad laws repealed and trusts and corporations turned inside out? If you answer in the negative then there is need for your help.

Let us consider a few of the important things we have accomplished: The Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen has come to stay. This is more than our opponents expected. We have clearly demonstrated to our bitterest antagonists that maintenance-of-way men can be so effectively organized as to become a part of the world's activity.

Those who have been earnest supporters of the Order since its formation know what stable organization means. They know what efforts, anxiety, and sacrifices the few faithful have undergone during these trying years to demonstrate that maintenance-of-way men can be formed into a beneficial organization. With throbbing hearts they have gazed intently upon our "ship of state" as she was passing the most critical period of her journey. Do you think for a moment that we are going to lay down our organizing armor? We are equipped for a successful journey, and success will surely crown our efforts if we use our opportunities aright.

We have accomplished much educationally. We believe that our members have done more to inform themselves as to justice, impartial laws, the sources of oppression, the means by which to remove them, and the proper relation of capital and labor since joining our Order than they had ever done before. Can any one tell where this educational interest will stop? Investigation once started is likely to continue, gaining more power and force as it brings to view the hidden truths. Naturally, too, as we become more enlightened and better qualified to do our duties, the more valuable our services become, and for this reason we can justly demand better pay. You may watch our members and you will see, as time goes on and they learn more and more their real value as workmen, they will demand and receive more wages than they could reasonably expect without such a course of training. So we can congratulate ourselves upon the benefits derived from the educational wave which we have set in motion. As it widens and touches the members of our craft they will emerge from their present lethargic condition, and move upwards as their horizon of intelligence and hope widens. This is work that should thrill our souls with joy—setting ourselves free from the thraldom of ignorance and placing our craftsmen upon a plane where they can see, think and act for themselves, as other classes of employes are doing. If you take a pigeon and cut out its brain, it will act foolishly, and its motions will be at random. This, to my mind, is a very pitiable sight. But how much more pitiable to see a human being with an undeveloped brain, struggling for bread and butter, unable to vie with his more enlightened brother. Such a man must undergo whatever demands are made upon him. Did you ever feel so helpless as when you had something given you to do and did not know how to do it? This places one at the disposal of those who are better qualified to do such duties. The writer would like to emphasize strongly the value maintenance-of-way men may be to each other in an educational way.

As to the achievements of the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen

in aiding the needy in a financial way, I can say that, while the families of all deceased maintenance-of-way men have not received financial aid, it is not the fault of our Order. I am happy to say that the beneficiaries of every insured member who died in good standing have received the amount designated in his certificate. Have any of our opponents made widows and orphans happy by providing for their necessities? If not, then our Order has surpassed them. Let us rejoice in the fact that we can show a favorable record along this line.

When you hear of the death of a true and noble member does it not afford you real joy to give your assistance toward the relief of his family, knowing that the only protection they have is that which the Order gives them? Do you not experience the truth of the Biblical statement that "it is more blessed to give than to receive"?

If maintenance-of-way men desire to be recognized, respected, and dealt with like other classes of employes, and to command respect from the world about them, they have but to unite and put their organization into practical operation. Their services are as essential to the successful operation of railways as are the services of any other class of employes. Our membership is not as large as it should be, but we had to undergo the sifting processes that try the stability of an organization. The sheep and the goats had to be separated. There are always false advertisements that on certain days certain goods will be given away, and a great many people expect to get a great deal for nothing, or that something will turn up whereby their wants will be supplied without any exertion or sacrifice upon their part. There is always an element following for fishes and loaves like those who when the Saviour thrust the pruning hook among them said: "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" and many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him. Our Saviour understood their whereabouts and He also knew well that such material must be sifted out, for it could not stand the test necessary in the establishment of His church. The foundation material of any structure ought to be good; if bad material, from any cause or oversight, is used in its foundation it is just so much weakness and is dangerous in proportion to the amount of such material used. It is a very undesirable scene to behold a magnificent superstructure erected upon a foundation wholly unstable. Those who have been earnest and faithful workers know that our greatest danger has always been from the "tares in the wheat." We have had to encounter much danger on account of unstable material in our structure. Our present membership consists largely of material which has passed through the sifting machine, and this fact warrants us in believing

that our condition at present is far more encouraging that it has ever been before.

Finally, what are our prospects? Have we any? Having passed some of the most dangerous breakers in our infancy; having passed an army of complainers and fault-finders from within and without; having struggled through the most trying financial crisis our nation has ever witnessed; having emerged from the demoralizing effects of rival organizations and withstood the crucial test of the winnowing of our membership, what, then, may we not accomplish in the future? And there is much to be done. Our organization needs to be enlarged. The combined power, influence, and brains of every true maintenance-of-way man should be centralized in our Order.

Every one, perhaps, has read the lesson in the school-boy's reader of "The Bundle of Sticks." An old man who had five sons was contemplating the probability of his death and, after collecting a bundle of five sticks, he called his sons to him and said: "Boys, you see a bundle of five sticks; the one of you who will break that bundle I will abundantly reward." Each boy, eager to win the prize, tried his utmost to break the sticks, but no one could do it. The old man then untied the bundle and taking one stick at a time had no trouble in breaking the entire number. "Ah!" exclaimed the boys, "it is easy enough to break them in that way; taking one at a time any one could do it." "This bundle of sticks," said the old man, "represents you five brothers standing together. So long as you are thus united no force can overcome you; but if you break your union you will be like the sticks you see lying broken and powerless."

And so with us, brethren. In union there is hope. If a man has certain convictions and operates along a certain line to bring them into effective use he can accomplish much. If ten thousand men of like convictions join him his chances of success are multiplied ten thousand times. Let us labor for a perfect union of all the good material in our class, never regretting the sacrifices and struggles made in behalf of our rights and for the cause of humanity and justice.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE NEED OF AN AUXILIARY

Agreeable to the most authentic records extant, man was seen by his Creator to be incomplete as a monosex, or without his counterpart, which rendered mankind bi-sexual. In other words, his Creator adjudged it not good for man, masculine, to be alone; because alone he was incomplete, being only half a man, and the rough, coarse half

at that. He needed not a supplement but a complement—that which would round up his otherwise incomplete character, rendering it symmetrical and giving uniformity to all its parts. Man, masculine, was essentially coarse-grained, rugged and uncouth;—hence he stood greatly in need of the tender, softening and refining influences which are characteristic of the opposite sex. The one being incomplete without the other, the Creator saw the necessity for a double standard, so to speak—the one to complement the other by bringing into play those traits of character which are essential to the happiness of the complete man, but which could not be possessed in their entierty by either half.

Man needed a helpmeet—not a slave or servant to go and come at his bidding, nor yet a mistress to be dressed up merely as an ornament, but a helpmeet, because in his incompleteness he would stand greatly in need of help. Who that has ever entered the apartments of the recluse, or the bachelor, but has noted chaos, the lack of order, the unhomelike appearance? Now let the hand feminine come in, touch up this and adjust that, and, lo! what a transformation! Some one has said, "The hand that rocks the cradle, is the hand that rules the world." Be that as it may, the fact remains that the influence of the so-called weaker sex over her coarser complement is very far-reaching, and can be greatly augmented at her own will; nor does this influence depend for its potency upon its quality, whether good or bad, but is alike operative in the cause of right or wrong.

'Twas woman's influence that took the head from the shoulders of John the Baptist, and her influence was alike potent at the court of Ahasuerus to save the lives of thousands of her countrymen who had been set upon by their enemies. Her influence has urged alike the soldier and sailor on to deeds of heroism. It is often like the wind, felt very perceptibly without being seen. We believe there has been no achievement in the world's history worthy of being recorded but was largely the result of woman's influence. How essential, then, that her influence be on the right side—on the side of God against greed; on the side of human happiness against human misery; on the side of the oppressed against the oppressor; on the side of the weak against the strong. We believe that naturally she is her brother's superior in all that tends toward the making up of a pure and lovely character, and hence needs only right training to place her always on the side of right; that she only needs to have the right pointed out to her to insure a speedy advocacy of its claims.

As stated above, she was given to man to be a helpmeet. Help! help!! help!!! is the cry that comes up from earth's four corners.

Help against tyranny and oppression; help to enable fathers, brothers and sons to throw off the yoke of bondage and assert their rights as freemen to have a hand in fixing the rate at which they must labor. Help for the wives, sisters and daughters that they may have homes fit for civilized people to live in, and help for the little boys and girls that they may get that which is their due, that which society owes them, viz: a decent living, proper clothing, healthful food, and an education that will cause them to hate slavery in any form. All this can woman help to do. All this she must help to do if she is to fulfill her sacred mission. Oh, woman! Great are thy opportunities, and equally great is thy responsibility.

Sister, we need your help. We of the maintenance-of-way department, who scarcely ever see our families in daylight, need your help. Do not say that you are powerless to help us. Were your husband to break his leg while away from home, with no one to help him but you, doubtless you could not carry him yourself; but you could run for your neighbor, and what you could not do alone the two of you together could easily accomplish. Thus it is with reference to the help we need. Your individual power will be of little avail, but go to your sister and tell her of the trouble and of the need of help; show her that the need is urgent; arouse her sympathies, and you will be sure of her co-operation. You are aware that your husband, your father, or your brother is not being properly remunerated for his services; that his pay is not commensurate with his responsibilities. You are aware also, that your own hardships are much greater and your home comforts far less than those of the people who live by clipping coupons from bonds, made valuable by your husband's labor. You also know that under existing conditions it is impossible for you to give your children one-half of the comforts (to say nothing of luxuries) that are necessary to their well-being and proper development, or to which they are justly entitled by virtue of the duties faithfully performed by yourself and husband; and do you not know that unless you give to them better educational advantages than you are now able to give them they can only be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for those in better circumstances, simply servants with ever-increasing burdens and ever-decreasing opportunities? Surely you are not one of those simpletons who sometimes say, "Oh, well, I am giving my children as good an education as I had. I always had to work and have gotten along very well, considering, and they are no better than I am."

In nature's laws degeneration begins when activity ends. Inertia means stagnation, and stagnation means death. We must

either go forward or backward; we must climb higher or we will sink lower. Our children must do better than we have done or, ten chances to one, they will do worse. Besides, conditions are not what they were when we were children. It requires no prophetic ken to foresee the time when, with a continuation of the present regime, three-fourths of the earth's inhabitants will simply be servants to the other one-fourth, unless we educate and continually impress upon the mind of the rising generation a sense of its opportunities and responsibilities. One of the laws of the ancients was, "And it shall come to pass that when your children shall ask, 'What meaneth this?' you shall say, 'Thus and thus was the case years ago,'" and this is intended as a reminder of those troublous times, so that we may guard against them.

Sister, we indulge this apparent digression because we not only need your earnest and undivided help, but your constant and continual co-operation, inasmuch as this organization, known as the B. R. T. of A., is not intended as a temporary makeshift to meet a present need, but a permanent institution, and largely one of prospective utility or benefit to the next generation. Hence this appeal to your maternal instinct, knowing that any woman of ordinary intelligence can readily see that she owes her husband all of the assistance in her power to give as he strives to better his condition, especially since her own welfare and that of her children are dependent upon his success, and is largely the end which he is seeking.

Did I hear you say, "I encouraged him to join the Order, I try to encourage him to pay his dues, etc., and that is all I can do."? Well, that is very good as far as it goes, but is that really all you can do? All of the older orders have help in the shape of woman's auxiliaries, which it is admitted have been and are of incalculable benefit to the parent organization, and why cannot we expect as much help from our wives, sisters and daughters as members of other orders receive? Are not our duties as irksome, our responsibilities as constant, and our hardships as great? Are our positions so secure, so comfortable, and our salaries so munificent as to place us beyond the pale of sympathy from those nearest and dearest to us, whose every interest is wrapped up in and identical with our own, and whose food and clothing depends largely, if not wholly, upon the wages we get? Nay, nay. The mention of it is but the denial. We know that there is neither lack of sympathy nor lack of interest in our efforts to better the condition of ourselves and those dependent upon us, but simply lack of opportunity. That has been the case in the past. A realization of the need, together with a knowledge of the "ways and means," forms

the opportunity. This has been lacking in the past, but it now appears to be fully felt and understood by quite a number of the sisters.

The objection may be raised that "we have not the same facilities for traveling that others have, and hence cannot get together so easily." True, sister; yet that fact only intensifies the need for your assistance in this movement. Are we not entitled to as many privileges as are enjoyed by members of other crafts? Are not the wives and families of maintenance-of-way employes entitled to as much consideration from their employers as are others? How, then, are we to command or secure this recognition but by united effort? In other words, how did the other crafts secure it? Simply by combining the strength and influence of both brothers and sisters into one solid whole, the woman's auxiliary being supplemental, while each branch of the organization freely gives to or accepts aid from the other.

Let all of the sisters unite in this auxiliary movement, putting their heads together, their hearts together and their hands united in one unbroken line, and it cannot be long ere we are accorded the privilege of once in a while getting out of the county in which we were born and seeing what the balance of the world looks like.

Our brothers and sisters of other crafts not only receive greater remuneration for services rendered, but, in addition to seeing and enjoying more of the world and more of society while on duty, they are granted leave-of-absence and transportation over other lines and into other states—things which we of the maintenance-of-way department are scarcely allowed to think of. Let us not envy them these privileges, but let us emulate the manliness and womanliness which enabled them to secure this recognition—a recognition which has been gained step by step through years of self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of their union, every inch of ground being stubbornly contested by their employers. Now they are enjoying privileges that should be within the reach of all honest working people, and especially the men who make it possible for others to enjoy them, viz: the privilege of seeing something more of the world than the little hamlet in which they were born.

Imagine the average trackman enjoying a theater! And why not? Do we not build and maintain the tracks, bridges and trestles over which theatrical troupes must ride in order that our neighbors may enjoy their productions? and must our own wives and children be denied the privilege of occasionally seeing something of life? Are our services of so little consequence to our employers and to the public as to justify the keeping of our families from year to year, from the cradle to the grave, in ignorance and obscurity?

Sisters, wives, daughters! Wake up and help us to plant our banner firmly upon the basic principle of equal rights, maintaining that position by faithful service to our employers and to each other, acting as one united band of brothers and sisters whose aims are one and whose desires are for the good of all; thus cementing the bond of love and sympathy, and acting continuously in harmony, we may rest assured that "neither principalities nor powers, things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth" shall be able to keep us out of the rights and privileges to which we are justly entitled, being enabled by the exercise of increased privileges to enjoy new vistas of knowledge and beauty which will open up before us, which will serve to enlarge the scope of our mental vision, thus enabling us to so impress the public with the fact that we are a necessary part of the industrial system to which all are indebted that the respect which is due us cannot longer be withheld. We want a more equitable share of the products of our toil—first, because our responsibilities and the exposure and hardships to which we are subjected entitle us to it, and second, because it will enable us to render our wives and children more comfortable at present and to provide for their future well-being. This we can soon realize, sisters, if you, one and all, will take hold of this auxiliary movement, putting into it all the vim and vigor at your command, and thus showing your full appreciation of the efforts of your husbands and brothers and stimulating them to greater achievements in your behalf.

No such word as fail should for a moment find a place in our vocabulary. We ought, we can, we must succeed, or remain the butt of ridicule of all other classes in the railway service. Adopting the motto of one of the States, "Labor omnia vincit," let us remember that Labor conquers all things and

"Work for the night is coming,
Work through the sunny noon;
Fill brightest hours with labor,
Rest comes sure and soon.

Give every flying minute
Something to keep in store;
Work for the night is coming
When man works no more."

CHAPTER XIX.

ARBITRATION RECOMMENDED.

In 1898 an "industrial commission" was created by act of Congress, the duties of said commission being "to investigate questions pertaining to immigration, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacturing and to business, and to report to congress and to suggest such legislation as it deemed best upon these subjects." In its efforts to collect such data as would enable it "to suggest such laws as might be made a basis for uniform legislation by the various states of the Union, in orders to harmonize conflicting interests and to be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer and the consumer," the commission summoned representatives of the various interests that would be affected by its recommendations and consequent legislation, to appear before it and state in detail the conditions of the interests they represented, and what legislation, in the judgment of each person thus summoned, seemed most needful to the welfare of his class. In response to a summons from the commission, the writer appeared before it on March 1, 1899, and delivered the following address:

Gentlemen:—In obedience to your request for me to assist your honorable body in its efforts to obtain information which will enable it to recommend the enactment of laws to meet the problems presented by labor, agriculture and capital, as I represent an organization composed of a class of men employed in transportation, known as the maintenance-of-way department employes, and employed by railway companies engaged in interstate commerce, it is for that class of men I speak authoritatively. As I understand, your desire is to discover the actual conditions of the industrial workers of the country and to discover causes for suffering, I will explain the present condition of maintenance-of-way department employes and relate some of the causes which I believe aid in producing present industrial conditions. There are in the United States about 180,000 miles of railway, and according to the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, about 180,000 men are employed in the maintenance-of-way department. This vast army of industrial workers is divided into three classes.

First. The class known as roadmasters numbers about 2,000, each having from 100 to 250 miles of track under his jurisdiction. Their divisions are cut into subdivisions, called sections. The sections are from five to ten miles in length. On each section is employed a foreman. He has a few assistants or laborers, known as section hands. Roadmasters receive instructions from and make reports to division superintendents. They (the roadmasters) are fairly well paid, the minimum wage being about $60 a month and the maximum about $150 per month. The majority of the roadmasters seem to be in sympathy with the men under them, but they are not permitted to have anything to say about the terms of employment, the rate of wages the men under them shall receive, the number of hours they will be required to work each day, etc.,

these matters being determined by higher authority, and on almost every large system of railway, some one is put in charge of a division in the capacity of roadmaster who is ambitious to excel all other roadmasters on the system, and in order to have it said that he is the best roadmaster on the system he becomes a very hard master, drives the men under him from daylight till dark and maintains his division at a minimum cost. As the higher officials are on the lookout for men who can produce the greatest results at the least cost, he becomes a favorite and is held up as an example for all other roadmasters on the system to follow. The most of them are poor men and are anxious to hold their positions, therefore, they feel compelled to be exacting and to work the men under them to their full capacity from morning till night.

Second. The men in charge of subdivisions, known as section foremen, receive instructions from and report to the roadmasters. They number about 30,000. They are personally responsible for the condition of the track under their jurisdiction, at all times, and are, in my judgment, the most important class of men engaged in operating railroads.

These men are required to work several years as laborers on track in order to learn enough about controlling men, repairing and maintaining track to be qualified to assume the responsibilities of a track foreman. The lives of the traveling public and the safety of commercial traffic are in their hands; they have more to do and more to look after to keep the track in a safe running condition than any other railway employe. Track out of line, surface, or gauge, not properly tied and spiked, a guard rail out of place, or a mismatched joint, and many other little things that must receive their attention each day, if neglected, would result in wrecking trains and destroying life and property. But few accidents on railroads can be traced to the negligence or carelessness of these men; they are always at their posts of duty, without regard to hot or cold weather. At nights, during storms and heavy rains, track foremen promptly leave their beds and patrol the tracks to see that all is safe for the passage of trains, and if the track has been obstructed by washouts or other causes it is usually discovered, and red lights, or other danger signals, are displayed at proper distances away from the place of danger, signalling engineers in charge of engines pulling approaching trains to stop and avoid danger. They are paid by the month and are supposed to be on duty at all times. If they work every Sunday during the month and a dozen nights they receive no extra pay for extra service; their wages amount to from $1.05 to $2.00 per day, according to locality, cost of living, etc.

Third. The laborers, who assist track foremen, known as track hands, are subject to the foremen's orders. The foremen usually hire and dismiss them, to suit their own convenience. According to the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, they number about 150,000, but I do not think that more than half that number are employed during the winter months. It is customary for the companies to employ several men on each section during the summer months to assist in putting the track in good condition while the weather is good, the days are long, and at the proper time to repair the roadbed, and discharge them in the fall. Many of the foremen are allowed only one or two assistants during the winter months, and in some instances they are required to lose several days each month, and the foremen are required to walk over their tracks alone. The track laborers are usually paid by the day; they receive from 47½c to $1.25 a day, according to locality, cost of living, etc. Think of it! More than 50,000 men work for the railway companies for from

47½c to $1.25 a day during six months in the year, receiving barely enough to subsist upon during the time of employment, and in the fall of the year, when living is high and employment is hard to obtain, they are turned out to beg, tramp, starve or steal, and become criminals.

I do not doubt that your honorable body will have men before it who enjoy all the necessaries of life, and many of the luxuries, and they will tell you things are all right as they are, and that the men in whose behalf I am speaking are dagoes, Hungarians, Polanders, negroes, Mexicans and Chinese, but, in my opinion, 90 per cent of these men are American citizens; they go to our polling places and vote, though I do not contend that they vote intelligently; but under improved conditions and more favorable circumstances many of them will become intelligent and useful citizens and add to our national strength.

Having related prevailing conditions among the men I speak for, as viewed from my standpoint, I will endeavor to explain what I believe to be some of the causes of the present undesirable state of affairs.

Under our unrestricted competitive system almost every oppressor imagines he is being oppressed, and to some extent it is true, but the stronger members of society prosper under it, become rich and powerful, while the weaker ones are crushed, reduced to industrial slavery and abject poverty. The men who shape and determine the policies to be maintained by the different railway companies do not, it seems, understand the public, and the public does not understand them. Those who have invested their money in railway enterprises have done a great deal towards developing our country and advancing civilization, but without the aid and co-operation of the public our vast railway systems would be worthless to their owners; therefore, railway companies, their employes, and the public should be on the best of terms at all times. Transportation companies should not be allowed to discriminate against small shippers in favor of large ones; they should not be permitted to give millions of dollars' worth of transportation each year to men of political influence, who are able to pay their fares, and expect in return for it legislation favorable to their interests, at the expense of the public. Such things arouse suspicion in the mind of the public, create prejudice and are injurious to both. Rate wars between transportation companies should be abolished. A large percentage of their gross earnings, amounting to millions of dollars each year, is wasted in useless competition for business. I have heard men engaged in the ticket brokerage business say that general passenger and ticket agents cannot be relied upon to carry out agreements after entering into them. It is not an uncommon thing for them to meet and agree to maintain certain rates over certain competing lines to given points, and in less than three days some or all of them would send agents who would offer to supply the brokers with tickets for less than the rate agreed upon. I can nearly always buy a railroad ticket cheaper from a ticket broker than I can obtain it from a company's regular ticket agent.

If the earnings of a road expended in this way were equally distributed among the employes it would enable them to supply themselves and families with the necessary comforts of life and abolish the cause for complaints on account of overwork and underpay.

In my judgment the system under which the railways are operated at present is having a demoralizing influence upon the public. Were it possible to maintain present rates, under judicious management the earnings would

furnish sufficient revenue with which to pay all employes living wages without requiring any of them to work an unreasonable number of hours in any one day, and leave plenty of surplus with which to pay investors a reasonable profit on the money invested. As railway companies hold valuable franchises by consent of the public, and they are semi-public enterprises, I have no hesitancy in saying it would be a blessing to all concerned if congress would enact laws creating and authorizing commissions to harmonize conflicting interests. Under the present system employes having just grievances in many instances are afraid to make complaints or to unite with their fellow-workmen for the purpose of presenting their grievances in a proper manner. If there existed a commission before which all classes of employes, from the president who presides at the meetings of the boards of directors to the humble trackman, who drives the spikes and tamps the ties, could appear and present their grievances without fear of being discharged, a better understanding could be arrived at, and a more just and equitable system could be adopted and put into practical operation.

As I understand, your commission has been created by congress to act as a mediator between the industrial workers and congress, and as I desire to aid you in your laudible undertaking to the extent of my ability, in my humble way, I will refer briefly to what I consider general causes that produce idleness and suffering among the toilers and wealth-producers of the nation.

It should be understood that wage-earners are not business men; they are capable of producing wealth, but depend upon others to provide ways and means. A demand for their labor must be created by the men who own the means of production and have possession of the things created by labor. Notwithstanding the majority of the recruits of the United States army were drawn from the army of unemployed, many of our citizens are in destitute circumstances and cannot find employment; they cannot sell their labor at any price. Such a condition is deplorable; it degenerates the citizen, causes him to become a beggar, if not a criminal; degrades our government and weakens our national strength. Industrial panics, such as we have recently passed through, not only cause wage-earners to suffer, they effect those who have possession of the wealth created by labor; they found no market for the surplus products in their possession because the wealth-producers, who should be the greatest consumers, were deprived of an opportunity to work and to earn sufficient wages to keep their consuming capacities anything like equal to their producing capacities. The natural result was commercial stagnation and industrial panic, which cannot be traced to any natural cause. The causes were superficial—over-production by some, under-consumption by others, and blind, selfish greed in others, who imagined that instead of creating wealth, to be used by all, it should be created for gain for a small per cent of our citizens.

The change of conditions demand a change in methods. The young man in the East, who has been crushed to the wall by competition, cannot do as the young man of a half century ago did, "Go West, and grow up with the country." Competition is as keen in the West as it is in the East; the land that was public a few years ago is settlements and cities to-day; our railways have been constructed, our cities have been built; machines, that enable our workman to produce as much as was produced by ten a few years ago, have been invented and are in practical operation. "The burden of public taxes upon the shoulders of labor (labor creates all wealth and pays all taxes) is

increasing." The weakest members of society are found among the wealth-producing classes.

I ask the questions: Will our national representatives protect us against blind, heartless and soulless capitalism? Will they be statesmen, protectors of equal rights and saviors of our country by seeing to it that we are allowed to enjoy the things we need and are willing to work for in a country we have helped to develop, or will they serve the class that wants more than they have any use for? In my judgment, the questions your honorable commission is being called upon to help solve are complex. It is hoped your time and energy will not be consumed in theorizing, but that your investigations will enable you to see things as they are, for you have conditions to deal with that should and must be changed in order to preserve the rights of our people and prevent the greatest nation on earth from retrograding.

Again referring to the men I represent and am authorized to speak for, I will state that there are about 200,000 carmen and shopmen employed by the railway transportation companies whose conditions are but very little, if any, better than the conditions surrounding the men employed in the maintenance-of-way department. The trackmen, carmen and shopmen and their families are far greater in number than the entire population of the Island of Cuba. Our government has expended many millions of dollars and sacrificed the lives of many of our citizens to aid the Cubans in their struggle to improve their condition, and I say, unhesitatingly, that before hostilities began on the Island of Cuba the citizens of that Island, upon the whole, were in no worse condition than are the men for whom I speak and who are citizens of the United States.

It is a matter of regret that the commission after ample investigation, was unable to present any specific recommendations for practical and beneficial legislation upon the questions for the consideration of which it had been created. There was one matter, however, on which the members of the commission were all agreed, namely, that some definite plan of arbitration should be adopted for the settlement of disputes between employers and employes before they reach the acute stage wherein lives and property, not only of the disputants, but of the innocent public, are jeopardized. Several state legislatures have since created boards of arbitration with well-defined duties and powers, in the hope of reducing to a minimum the financial losses, the ill-feelings, and general inconveniences which always accompany industrial disputes when they develop into strikes. In New Zealand, where arbitration is compulsory, strikes are unknown, and universal content prevails among the wage-earning classes. A noteworthy fact in this connection is that in New Zealand there is no private monopoly of franchise privileges. On the contrary, all utilities of a public or quasi-public nature are controlled by the public for the public benefit. A rehearsal of the advantages of collective ownership of public utilities, including land (which is the source of all wealth), the means of production, distribution and communication,

cannot be attempted in this volume, for its proper treatment would fill a large book with facts and figures of engaging interest, and would impart a new inspiratioin to every earnest seeker of social and temporal advancement.

CHAPTER XX.

DIRECT LEGISLATION

It is claimed by the friends and expounders of the philosophy and urgent need of direct legislation, through the initiative and referendum, that it will prove a sheet anchor that will save from destruction our many cherished republican institutions which are now being threatened by the tidal waves of imperialism and trust control, not only of all branches of trade and commerce, but also of every department of our national, state and municipal governments. Direct legislation means legislation by the people as a whole. It would deprive the congress, the legislature or the municipal assembly of the power to enact laws, at the behest of wealthy corporations, that would be unjust and obnoxious to the whole body of citizens of the nation, state or municipality which would be affected by such laws. Thus it is claimed that the powerful lobbies, which are maintained at every capital for the purpose of influencing legislators and inducing legislation favorable to that class of privilege mongers and financial speculators which has from time immemorial levied tribute upon the public through the aid of law-conferred privileges obtained by corrupt practices, would be driven out of existence, because, however willing the law-makers might be to sell their votes and their influence to the lobbyist, to the injury of the constituents who had given them their places of honor, no law could be promulgated and placed upon the statute books until after its ratification by a vote of the whole people to whom its provisions would apply. It is also claimed that with this safeguard thrown around the people's interests, men base enough to sell their votes and influence for personal aggrandizement would not seek election to the various law-making bodies of the country because they could not have the opportunity to fill their purses with ill-gotten wealth. Only honorable men, with a desire to "secure the greatest good to the greatest number," would seek or accept a seat in Congress, in the state legislature or in the municipal assembly if the inception of all legislation (through the initiative) and its final confirmation (through a referendum vote) lay in the people themselves.

Under the present plan of operation the law-making power of the country is in the hands of a comparatively small number of men, all of whom except the United States senators, are chosen at stated in-

tervals, by ballot, at general elections held for that purpose. The candidates are nominated by party conventions composed of delegates appointed by partisan bodies or chosen at primary elections, the machinery of which is too often in the hands of or controlled by men who are stockholders or paid agents of powerful and immensely rich corporations, much of whose wealth and power has been gained through legislative enactments conferring special privileges which are but the legitimate fruits of a policy under which the candidate for legislative honors must, in order to be successful, swap privileges for place. It matters not by which political party, or by how many parties, candidates for such offices are placed in the field. The same influences surround them all. If by any chance a man is nominated who is avowedly hostile to corporation interests, the corporation lackeys in all parties will unite against him, but if in spite of such opposition he secures a majority of the ballots cast, the election officials will count him out at the behest of the corporation-controlled machine which gave them their appointment. Thus it is practically impossible for a man who is known to be opposed to the class which thrives on special privileges to get a seat in one of our law-making bodies. In fact, such a man would be bitterly opposed by the corporation interests for any office in which his influence might be hurtful to them. Having learned the value of special privileges, the class which deals in them also knows the value of controlling the legislative branches of government, by which and through which they are created; hence, the need of controlling the election machinery. The two U. S. senators from each state are elected by the members of the state legislature, and serve for a term of six years. When a vacancy occurs in the U. S. senate through the death or resignation of a senator, the governor of the state which was represented by the deceased or retiring senator has the power to appoint his successor, provided the vacancy occurs during the recess of the legislature. Thus it is important to the privilege class to look well into the antecedents of all gubernatorial aspirants, for a governor's influence over the members of his state legislature is such as to make him a "logical" candidate for senatorial honors; but even if he should not entertain such aspirations there is always the chance that he will have the naming of the senator from his state. The United States senate is now very largely composed of millionaires, and we have but recently witnessed the spectacle of a contest between two millionaire copper kings of Montana (rivals in everything) for the "honor" of representing the "interests" of the "dear people (!)" of that state in the upper house of congress. So anxious were these rival candidates

to be "honored" that they spent millions of dollars in bribing and debauching the legislators who held the power to confer the "honor." Other instances of a similar character are not lacking, but this will suffice. If several legislators can get $100,000 each for their votes in a senatorial contest, like the above, how much could one governor get for making a senatorial appointment?

Under our form of representative government the many invest the few with power to legislate in their name and in their behalf. After the power has been conferred, petitions and protests are alike in vain to secure wholesome legislation, or to check or annul that which is vicious. The people can resolve, and frequently do resolve, to defeat their faithless representatives when they again come out for office, but they learn to their dismay that not only has the same machine which nominated the first set of faithless officials nominated their successors, but that the same interests (which control all party machines) have nominated their only competitors, leaving the voters the alternative of choosing between "the frying pan and the fire."

Direct legislation by means of the initiative and referendum is a non-partisan measure of reform in government, which is meant to destroy the power of the few in control to impose upon the many such laws as the ruling class may deem of exceptional value to their own personal and selfish interests, and, by the way, self-interest is one of the strongest and most persistent of all human motives. Men of all parties and all vocations, who have taken sufficient interest in the affairs of state to learn the difference between right and wrong, and who have been influenced in their investigations by a desire to see right principles established, have heartily indorsed the plan of direct legislation as the most feasible—in fact, the only plan by which many of the reforms now imperatively demanded in the interest of human rights can be secured.

President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, tersely states his indorsement of the plan, as well as that of organized labor, in the following words: "I have full faith in the people. The safety of the future as well as the interests of the present can safely be entrusted in their hands. The whole are more honest, more intelligent than the few. We must soon choose whether we are to have an oligarchy or a democracy. All lovers of the human family, all who earnestly strive for political reform, economic justice and social enfranchisement must range themselves on the side of organized labor in this demand for direct legislation."

Reverend Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor and eminent divine, says: "In my judgment the remedy for the evils of democracy is more

democracy; a fresh appeal from the few to the many, from the managers to the people. I believe in the referendum, and, within limits, the initiative, because it is one form of this appeal from the few to the many, from forces of abstract democracy to democracy, that is the rule of the people."

William Jennings Bryan, the great commoner, who has twice been nominated for the presidency of the United States upon a platform which meant "equal rights to all; special privileges to none," gives editorial approval as follows: "The principle of the initiative and referendum is democratic. It will not be opposed by any democrat who indorses the declaration of Jefferson, that the people are capable of self-government; nor will it be opposed by any Republican, who holds to Lincoln's idea that this should be a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Hon. David B. Henderson, of Iowa, Republican Congressman and Speaker of the House of Representatives, says: "It would be a great advantage to a public man if expressions on measures could be had from the people, * * * and, above all an intelligent expression of the mass of the voters on any and all leading questions would be of great value to public servants. * * * Whatever is done should permit the fullest discussion before the vote is taken, so that the citizens may compare notes fully and the questions discussed may enter into the campaigns among the people."

Hon. John P. St. John, of Kansas, ex-governor and ex-presidential candidate of the Prohibition party, has this to say: "I might write page after page on direct legislation, and at last the whole of it could be boiled down in the simple statement that I am fully convinced that the initiative and referendum will be the final solution of the question, 'How can reformers be gotten together?' In view of the brutal, unprovoked murder of those poor, unarmed, defenseless miners of Hazelton, Pa., it is possible that the one great question that will overshadow all others in 1904 will be the preservation and perpetuation of human liberty. This is a day of murder, suicide, robbery, hunger and starvation, the legitimate fruits of government controlled by monopolies and trusts, and direct legislation would give back to the people control of the government."

Hon. John Wanamaker, ex-postmaster general, Sunday-school superintendent and merchant prince, gives the plan this concise indorsement: "I heartily approve of the idea of giving the people a veto on corrupt legislation. The movement to secure for the people a more direct and immediate control over legislation shall have my support. I trust such a movement will receive the thoughtful attention

of all who would improve our political and industrial conditions. I am willing to trust public questions to the intelligence and conscience of the people."

Henry D. Lloyd, famous author, says: "Direct legislation—the initiative and referendum—must be supported by every true believer in free government. These measures contain no new principle, and their machinery already exists in a crude form in our government. The initiative and referendum simply raise these principles and their application to the highest efficiency. The people, excited by the pursuits of prosperity in America, which has been a universal gold diggings for two centuries, have carelessly allowed their delegates in party, corporation and government to become their rulers, and they are now awakening to the startling fact that their delegate has become their exploiter. The people are losing the control of their government, the most powerful instrumentality for the creation and distribution of wealth in society. Its government must be recovered by the American people, peaceably, if possible; but it must be recovered. Direct legislation would be the ideal means for this peaceable revolution. If the revolution is to be accomplished otherwise, direct legislation will stand forth in the new order as the only means for expressing the popular will that a free people will exercise. No future republic will ever repeat the mistake of giving its delegates the opportunity to become its masters."

Thousands of indorsements similar in character to those above quoted have been given to the plan of direct legislation, but space forbids a more extended notice in this book. The object of this chapter is to cause those who may be interested in the public weal, those who are not completely wrapped up in sordid self-interest, to study the merits and demerits of this great question in the hope that all sincere reformers and unselfish seekers of the public good may ultimately unite upon one plan of action and, by applying the principle of unionism to their now disorganized endeavors, secure to mankind the blessings which would follow the adoption of this principle of right government.

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